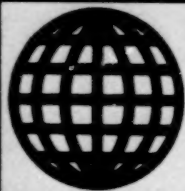


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JPRS Report

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

Soviet Union

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JPRS-UPA-89-009

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Work of Newly Formed Okrug Election Commissions Described

18000298a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by M. Kushtapin, IZVESTIYA special correspondent: "Okrug Election Commissions Formed"]

[Text] As of 15 December, 1,500 okrug election commissions for the election of USSR people's deputies began their work. As reported to this IZVESTIYA correspondent at the Central Election Commission, this important step of the electoral campaign which has begun in the country took place in an atmosphere of broad glasnost and democracy.

What was new in the order of their formulation? First of all, we must note the very attitude of the electors themselves. Things were not like they were yesterday. Candidacies were presented and discussed not for the sake of form and not by "directions" from above. As a rule, the labor collectives nominated at their meetings those people who by their labor, personal and civic qualities had earned the respect and leadership of their work comrades. In many cases the nomination bore an alternative character. For example, two candidacies were discussed at the Ryazan Analytic Calculator Plant. After a heated debate, preference was given to fitter-instrument maker A. N. Rezyatkin.

The new law on elections grants the right to nominate candidates for membership in okrug commissions not only to the labor collectives, but also to their councils. What does this give? First of all, the formal approach is excluded. Let us take a large enterprise employing several thousand people working in two or three shifts. Is it possible here to hold a competent meeting at which over half of all the workers could be present? In practice this is unrealistic.

Now this problem is solved quite simply: The enterprise workers may nominate candidates and discuss the candidacies in the brigades, shops or sections, while the actual nomination is entrusted to the labor collective council. That is just what the builders of the SU-298 at the Glavzapstroy Trust No 31 did.

One other democratic peculiarity of the current electoral campaign. Not only the labor collectives, management organs of public organizations and military units were able to nominate their representatives to the okrug commissions, but also the meetings of electors by place of residence. Thus, the meeting of the residents of the Minsk Odoyevskiy and Yanka Mavra Streets and Pushin Prospect delegated A. P. Chigirinskaya, teacher at secondary school No 7, for membership in the commission of the Minsk-Frunze national-territorial district No 67.

As we can see, the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" already at the stage of formulation of okrug commissions has made it possible to more fully

and objectively consider the interests of the broadest strata of electors and the specifics of the okrugs, and has excluded many bureaucratic tricks. However, it will also require a new level of work from the okrug commissions. The election commissions now have extensive rights. They bear the full and independent responsibility for preparing and holding elections not in word, but in deed. They also answer for adherence to the Law on Elections. It is specifically the election commissions which must now organize the nomination of candidates for deputy, convene and conduct okrug pre-election meetings, see to the publication of posters with biographies of the candidates for deputy, provide officials and candidates with equal possibilities for pre-election agitation and competition, and ensure the secret ballot of each elector...

There is no need to list in a newspaper publication the entire range of privileges of the okrug election commissions. They are clearly formulated in the appropriate articles of the Law on Elections. It gives a detailed presentation and regimentation of the activity of the commissions at all stages of the election campaign. We wish the members of the okrug commissions successful and fruitful work, which will largely determine the qualitative make-up of the new corps of deputies, and consequently also the new organs of authority. And in the long run it will also determine the fate of perestroika.

Pravda Views Oblast, Kray Party Conferences

18000298b Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 p 1

[Unattributed report entitled: "Oblast and Kray Party Conferences—An Exacting Look at Party Forces"]

[Text] For every oblast and for any kray this is an event of particular significance. The conference of the oblast or kray party organization reviews in concentrated form all the basic problems of life in the region, its economic, social and cultural sphere. Party work is summarized for the reporting period. Successive tasks and means of their resolution are illuminated. How are the measures outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference being implemented locally? Of that which has been done, what can we consider to be a real achievement, and what should we send to the archives? Which facets of style facilitate the improvement of collective work, and which ones hinder it? These and other basic questions on the activity of the oblast and kray party committees are today the center of attention of communists.

The situation in which the conferences are currently proceeding is unusual. The CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet were recently held. They paved the way for implementation of the Laws on constitutional changes and on election of people's deputies, and adopted a number of other important documents. The ever broader democratization and glasnost in the country and in the party

create conditions where the CPSU member feels himself to be a true master in his party organization, when the thought and word of each party member take on increased weight.

Much is new also in the preparation for the conferences. The topics of the reporting speeches are published ahead of time in the press, forwarded to the party organizations for familiarization, and discussed at local aktiv meetings. The primary party organizations have recommended their candidates for membership in the raykoms and obkoms, and the rayon and city party conferences—for membership in the oblast and kray committees. The lists of these candidacies have been published and are generally discussed everywhere. Thus, much broader masses of communists have gained the opportunity of influencing the formation of the party organs.

The task consists of seeing that the conferences are held in an atmosphere of true exactingness, principle, and real democratism. This will make it possible to comprehensively and objectively evaluate the work of the management cadres, especially the secretaries, and members of the party committee bureaus. Reports and elections at the oblast and kray level seem to summarize the extensive campaign which has taken place at the rayon and city sector, at the primary and shop party organizations and in the party groups. It is important to draw lessons from them and to pay maximal attention.

Here are a few notable facts. Almost every third party group organizer, every second secretary of a shop or primary party organization were elected on an alternative basis in the course of the current reporting-electoral campaign. That is, they were elected from among two or more candidates. Such a practice is widely used also at the rayon and city party conferences. The work of 3,602 party group organizers, 5,223 shop secretaries, and 3,275 secretaries of primary party organizations has been deemed unsatisfactory. In light of glasnost and with consideration for the increased demands, many raykom and gorkom leaders have also arisen before communists in far from the best light.

The secret ballot, organized in accordance with the requirements of the new CPSU Central Committee instruction, allows communists to more fully and unprejudiciously express their attitude toward those who are slow in reorganizing the work. Many cases have been noted when 30-40 percent of the delegates at rayon and city conferences voted against re-election of the party raykom and gorkom secretaries. A number of them did not get the necessary number of votes and were excluded from the electoral organs.

Thus, at the Krasnogorodsk rayon conference of Pskov oblast, sharp criticism was levelled at the command style of work of raykom First Secretary V. Trofimov. The speakers said with indignation that he exhibited arrogance and disrespect for people. 133 delegates out of 215 voted against electing him to membership in the party raykom.

During the elections of the Tuymazinskiy CPSU gorkom in the Bashkir ASSR, over half the delegates turned out to be against the introduction of former gorkom First Secretary A. Fazullin into the committee. The conference participants pointed out instances where he usurped his authority and ignored the opinion of the collegial organ. They noted that while "Shakirovism" flourished in the oblast party organization, in the Tuymazinsk it was "Fazullinism".

On the whole there is an ongoing healthy process of cleansing the party committees of the workers who have lost the right to lead communists, a process of strengthening the leadership segments with people capable of working under the new conditions. At the same time, many facts point up a poor knowledge of the local situation by party obkoms and kraykoms. At times they still exhibit an unjustified condescending attitude and tolerance in regard to those who for a long time have plodded along, not always being well aware of the real authority of the leadership workers among communists and non-party members.

There are also such cases when the opinion of the aktiv is not taken into consideration, efforts are made to forcefully retain a "rolled" candidacy. The delegates of the Grachevskiy rayon party conference in Orenburg oblast blackballed former First Secretary F. Martynyuk. He consulted little with the people and with the party aktiv, and took on himself the resolution of many economic management questions. As a result, the rayon where Martynyuk headed up the party organization for over 9 years, was merely marking time. The communists of the rayon and certain party obkom workers have long been raising the question of changing the leadership, but... they have received no support from obkom First Secretary A. Balandin.

Unlike past years, today the transition of party work to primarily political methods requires greater attention. It is specifically toward this that the reorganization of the structure of the obkom and kraykom apparatus is aimed. Their new sections must significantly alter their style of work, reject the departmental approach and the substitution of Soviet and economic management organs, and concentrate on the key problems of socio-economic policy, ideological activity, and improvement of work with the cadres.

It is necessary to acknowledge that far from all obkoms and kraykoms have clearly defined their participation in the implementation of economic reform, in the matter of broad introduction of the lease order and other progressive forms of labor organization and compensation. They still view them with suspicion. The inattentive attitude of the party, Soviet and economic organs toward the everyday needs and concerns of the people require sharp evaluation. Much is said about this here and there, but little is done in practice to eliminate the interruptions in the supply of food products. We would say that Orlov and Bryansk oblasts have conditions that are

about equal, but the situation with food products in Bryanshchina is considerably worse.

A serious question for the oblast and kray party conferences is the continued strengthening of the party ranks. Time dictates the need to shift the emphasis of party work to the primary party organizations and the labor collectives, to improve their management, to increase their avant-garde role and the responsibility of communists.

It is also important to examine more closely the current problems of ideological provision of perestroika. Specifically, much remains to be done, considering the current re-evaluation of the historical events in the life of the party and the country. The question of reviewing the lesson content within the system of party and Komsomol education is becoming more acute, so that we can depart from the annually recurring themes and their outdated interpretation. Particular attention should be given to the harmonization of international relations.

The oblast and kray conferences are a difficult test for the party committees. This is a period of especially strict critical evaluation of all the work, intensive collective search, and frank discussions. Let the conferences everywhere help to accelerate the movement on the road to revolutionary renewal of society!

Supreme Soviet's Future Legislative Processes Examined

18000298c Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview by IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Feofanov with candidate in juridical sciences V. Prozorov: "From Bill to Law". First paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The members of the future Supreme Soviet will have to legislate not by mechanical voting alone. A permanently operating legislative organ which meets for lengthy sessions—that is the status of our parliament. But how should the laws be adopted? This presents a set of problems. One of them is discussed today by IZVESTIYA observer Yu. Feofanov and candidate in juridical sciences V. Prozorov.

[Feofanov] Scientists speak of the need to adopt a law on laws. That is, a law on the regulation of legislative activity. This idea seemed convincing to me. Then some doubts arose. Is this not a tribute to fashion—to adopt more and more new legal statutes? Everything is clear as it is: bills are proposed, the commissions discuss them, the most important bills are discussed by the people, etc. Granted, this is sometimes done in a formal manner. But, Vyacheslav Fedorovich, is the procedure capable of eliminating formalism? You are engaged in this sphere of law. What are your conclusions in favor of a law on laws?

[Prozorov] Let us begin with who is preparing the bill and who is presenting it. The USSR Constitution

(Article 113) defines the circle of organizations or persons, or as jurists say, the "subjects" having the right of legislative initiative. Today the circle of such subjects has been expanded. Yet we still do not find state committees, ministries and departments among them.

Now let us see who really prepares the legislative bills. It is best to turn to the official reports. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, having considered in 1985 the question of the course of fulfillment of the plan for preparation of legislative statutes for 1983-1985, noted certain shortcomings in the work of the ministries, the state committees and departments on the preparation of bills. Specifically, it focused attention on the fact that a high quality of the prepared documents is not always ensured. Maybe now, under conditions of perestroika, the situation has changed? Not a bit. At the meeting of the legislative proposals commissions held on 25 October of this year it was stressed that the ministries and departments do not always ensure in-depth development, do not refer to the authority of science, and do not consider public opinion. In short, once again departmental approaches prevail.

[Feofanov] It turns out, the legislator himself concludes that it is the departments who prepare the bills, and prepare them poorly.

[Prozorov] The departments are practically the monopolists here, and the legislators—yes, they did agree with this practice. The law on laws is called upon to eliminate this monopoly, to create a non-ambiguous procedure of preparing normative statutes and thereby ensuring a high quality of legislative drafts. The scientific and public organizations must become participants with full rights in this work. They must obtain the necessary rights, and glasnost and consideration of public opinion must be legally guaranteed. We cannot seriously hope that a department which prepares a bill can itself organize its objective expert examination or will objectively summarize its open discussion. We will also not see an official publication of alternative bills, since monopoly does not tolerate competition. There were alternative bills, and, we might add, many of them, but they were buried by the departments without fanfare. In Lithuania and Estonia two unofficial legislative bills were published: one on the youth and one on the press. Yet the legal procedures for their discussion were not defined.

I am convinced that sooner or later we will have to deal with the problem of regulating the preparation of legislative bills. We cannot year after year note the low quality of bills and leave it at that.

Now let us see who introduces the bill to the legislative organ. The circle of those subjects empowered to do so is defined by the Constitution. At the same time, in the official reports we often read that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has approved one legislative bill or another, that the reviewed "legislative bill will in the

near future be sent to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium so that a broad discussion may subsequently be held on it." We have also had occasion to read that "the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has discussed the draft of the USSR Law 'On cooperation in the USSR' submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers... and deemed it expedient to introduce it for public discussion." Yet according to the Law on public discussion, it is held at the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium.

Obviously, no one intends to belittle the role of the Politburo. However, the participation of the party organs in this work must be done on a legal, judicial basis. After all, "all the party organizations act within the framework of the USSR Constitution" (Article 6). As long as there is no law on laws, there are questions without answers. For example, as it proceeds from the USSR Constitution, can a people's deputy or group of deputies introduce a legislative bill into the USSR Supreme Soviet by-passing the directive organs? What is the legal significance of decisions by the directive organs on the legislative bill—"to approve", "to introduce", "to pass on", "to recommend for discussion"?

[Feofanov] It always seemed to me that lack of definition or absence of procedures was a weakness of our legislation.

[Prozorov] Actually, we must speak not only and not so much about procedure as about the juridical guarantees of the democratization of this process and of its inclusion into the sphere of glasnost.

[Feofanov] Let us conduct an experiment. Let us assume that your model of a law on laws is in effect. Let us "play through" on it two of the most important legislative statutes. The draft of the law on appealing against the illegal acts of officials was subjected to serious criticism in the press. The draft, it is true, was not published. However, certain of its positions were no secret to anyone. IZVESTIYA, specifically on the eve of the session, came out with the proposal to make provisions for appealing decisions of the collegial organs as well. This proposal was not taken into consideration, and the result was a stillborn child. The draft of the Law on Cooperation was widely discussed. Everyone acknowledged its unquestionable advantages. Yet now gaps and omissions are becoming apparent. And now you tell me: what would happen if... if there already was a law on laws?

[Prozorov] Then it would be not only impossible to adopt, but even to prepare such a "masterpiece" as the law on appealing the actions of officials. This is a production which may only be performed privately. The bill on making judicial appeals regarding the actions of officials was not published. The law was dragged through the deputation barrier, although with difficulty. Responsibility must be borne for any defects. Yet there is no one to answer for it. The writers of the bill are anonymous.

That is a pity. The country should know its heroes. And it will know them if we have a law on laws. The initiator of a legislative bill must guarantee a certain socioeconomic or other effect. Also, he must back up his guarantee with computations and substantiations. Moreover, without publication of the proposed bills, without objective expert investigations whose results must also necessarily be published, without a prognosis of the effectiveness of the bill and without holding a public defense by its developers with illumination through the means of mass information, the legislator should not even accept the bill for consideration. As long as we do not have this, we will inevitably give birth, as you say, to stillborn infants.

As for the Law on Cooperation, on the whole this is a progressive statute. Yet regarding the fact that "everyone acknowledged its unquestionable advantages", this, I believe, is not quite correct. The juridical defects inherent in the bill have been retained in the law. If there was a law on laws, it would be impossible to assign the generalization and analysis of the comments and proposals to the same commission which wrote the bill. The developers of the bill, through the means of mass information, would have to give an argued response to the basic proposals and criticisms with which they disagreed. After all, a discussion is an exchange of opinions, and not simply a collection of proposals, with consequences which are unknown to anyone.

[Feofanov] Yet not all bills can be broadly discussed. Very many of the most important legislative statutes, as we know, are adopted in the form of Directives by the USSR or republic Supreme Soviet Presidiums. For many years I have been present at meetings of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and not once has there been a discussion of Directives. Their ratification at the sessions, you will agree, is merely a formality. An exception is the Directive on Taxes and the Directive on Meetings and Demonstrations. This is the spirit of a "new time". Yet how does your model provide for the adoption of current Directives? Of course, very hypothetically, since the legislative organs are undergoing serious reforms.

[Prozorov] If we proceed from the adopted changes in the USSR Constitution, then this problem is no longer an issue. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will issue Directives, but these will now be statutes of a non-normative character, as for example, on the convocation of a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on awards, on the appointment of diplomatic representatives, etc. Accordingly, the problem of ratifying its Directives is also removed. Moreover, even the interpretation of the USSR Laws is relegated to the competence of the USSR Supreme Soviet itself.

[Feofanov] The governmental resolutions comprise a huge volume of the juridical norms. The Council of Ministers is not a legislative body. Yet its resolutions, if we look at things realistically, are stronger than laws.

Finances, for example, are the prerogatives of parliament. The government is the arbiter of that which it is given, and is under the watchful control of the legislators. That is how it is "with them". The notion has been expressed that that is how it must be with us too. I believe that since the law on laws must soon regulate the adoption of vital state statutes, then the norm development of the Council of Ministers must also be fitted into its framework.

[Prozorov] The name with which we operate—the law on laws—is conditional. Should the preparation of laws and of government resolutions be regulated in one act or in two? Here, as they say, variants are possible. A separate regulation seems preferable to me. With the adoption of changes to the USSR Constitution, the rights of the representative organs are expanded. In reality they stand above the organs of administration. Specifically, the competence of the Supreme Soviet includes the regulation of the management of the national economy and social construction, the budget-finance system, as well as implementation of control over the course of plan and budget fulfillment. The latter, evidently, will require the development of special procedures and the creation of organizational structures. The ratification of vital all-union programs for the economic and social development of the USSR is relegated to the exclusive competence of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. On the whole, there must be a redistribution of spheres of competence in favor of the organs of cadre representation.

[Feofanov] It is difficult, of course, to try to guess now what will actually be in practice. You began with the departments, with their real influence on legislation. Will the same thing not be repeated under the new system? This is especially true of such departments as the Gosplan [State Planning Committee], Minfin [Ministry of Finance], Goskomiien [State Committee on Prices], Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems], Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], etc. By their instructions they are capable of distorting any law. Also, local norm setting is added to this as well. Does our model provide a guarantee of "untouchability of the law"? I would call it just that: untouchability.

[Prozorov] Departmental norm setting may be fully introduced into the legal and rational framework only after a radical economic reform is implemented and the departments are deprived of monopolistic economic power. Yet even now we can regulate their norm setting. It is improbable that we will be able to break this Gordian knot with a single blow. Our legacy from the times of stagnation is the tendency to adopt "non-judicial laws". As paradoxical as this formulation is, nevertheless a great many legislative statutes are only externally reminiscent of legal ones. These are sooner declarations which cannot be used as direct guidelines. After adoption of laws, everyone waits for the decision of the government and the departmental instructions which must give answers to specific questions. It turns out that

the law is effective only when and to the degree that there are decisions by the administrative organs which develop and specify it. Consequently, the department is not always at fault for the abundance of departmental norm-setting. The guilty party here is often the law itself. Let us take that very law on judicial appeals of the actions of officials. In order to apply it in some way, explanatory instructions were needed.

We must make a decisive departure from an understanding of the law as a general statute which requires additional statutes for its application. The more firmly the legislator speaks the legal language, the less room there will be for concerns about legality, correctness and timeliness of the departmental norm setting.

[Feofanov] Probably the Committee on Constitutional Supervision will also say its word?

[Prozorov] Of course. Constitutional supervision must permeate the entire legal system, and not a single type of normative statute should remain outside its sphere. Without this, legislative regulation may be blocked and negated.

Constitutional supervision over the correspondence of departmental statutes to the USSR Laws should not, in my opinion, bear a direct, immediate character. The Committee on Constitutional Supervision is the last instance, when the petitioner has exhausted all other legal possibilities.

The Basic Positions for radical reorganization of economic management ratified by the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee state: "To accelerate the preparation of an all-union statute on the order of development and application of departmental normative statutes, to take measures for intensifying control over the correspondence of legislation to departmental normative statutes". The draft of the appropriate legal statute was prepared in 1986, and at the end of 1987 it even reached the USSR Council of Ministers. Its subsequent fate is unknown. In any case, work on this draft can hardly be called accelerated. Evidently, until the newly elected organs of people's representation do not take up this problem seriously, there will be no shifts here. Even tomorrow we can publish for discussion the above-mentioned project—on regulating the publication of departmental statutes. After all, we must finally fulfill the decision of the Central Committee Plenum on accelerating its preparation.

BSSR Supsov Creates New Commission on Nationality Issues

Supsov Chief on Nationality Issues
18000344 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 23 Nov 88 p 3

[Speech by G.S. Tarazevich]

[Text] Speech by G.S. Tarazevich at the session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, November 19, 1988.

The nationalities issue and the tasks of perfecting relations between nationalities are on the front burner at the present stage of restructuring. The 19th Party Conference passed a special resolution which found it expedient to establish standing commissions on interethnic relations under the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics. There is a pressing need to set up such a commission in our republic as well, as was pointed out at the plenum of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

Great progress has been made towards solving the nationalities issue under Soviet rule. Impressive results have been achieved in ensuring a de facto equality of all Union Republics, nationalities and ethnic groups and in fostering brotherly relations among them to instill the spirit of internationalism among the working people. This has been one of the greatest accomplishments of the October Revolution.

Our Republic is part and parcel of the Soviet Union. It owes all its accomplishments not only to the hard work of its residents, but also to the selfless and fraternal assistance that it has been receiving for over 70 years from all Soviet peoples.

Let us recall the post-war period. Belorussia was able to heal the serious wounds inflicted by the Nazi occupation in a short span of time only thanks to the tremendous support it received from Union Republics and the Russian Federation first and foremost. The Republic's economy was rehabilitated and given a further momentum. Entirely new industries were established. At present our products are well known not only in different parts of the country, but in more than 100 foreign countries. We should remember that we are receiving many types of materials and supplies from different parts of the Soviet Union. That means that every tractor and every refrigerator we manufacture and every ton of metal we smelt contains the efforts of the entire Soviet people.

A similar situation has shaped up in other Union Republics, reflecting the fact that an integrated economic structure has taken root in the USSR, providing material guarantees for the unity of Soviet nations. The internationalisation of the economy and public life is an objective and logical process developing in the socialist society. Experience has proved how correct V.I. Lenin was when he said that by pulling their efforts together, each nation and society as a whole would make faster strides.

To quote Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, "We should safeguard the friendship of our people as the apple of our eye. There is no other way, no other meaningful alternative," he said at the 19th Party Conference.

Why do we have to bring up these issues again and again? The reason is that like any other social development, relations between nations cannot be a fait accompli. They develop dynamically. We are aware today of the repercussions of national issues being ignored.

Our multinational society has lost much of its dynamic momentum, which was typical at the early stages of its development, when we deviated from the Leninist principles of the nationalities issue when the laws were violated during the cult of personality period, and when we found ourselves in an ideological morass.

For these reasons the 19th Party Conference, elaborating on the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, has confronted us with a historic challenge—to foster the Leninist norms and principles guarding the interethnic relations in a persistent and creative manner and to cleanse them of any deviations and artificial barriers.

The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee scheduled for mid-1989 will take up the interethnic relations. Without waiting for its decisions, however, we should leave no stone unturned to forestall the acute problems, especially in the social sphere, as well as in the development of national culture and language. We shouldn't slacken in bringing up and resolving controversial issues and tuning our practical activities to the developments shaping up in our society.

People representing more than 100 nationalities live in our Republic. According to the latest census, the Belorussians account for 79.4 percent of its population, the Russians for 11.9 percent, the Poles, 4.2 percent, the Ukrainians, 2.4 percent, and the Jews, for 1.4 percent. We have large groups of Lithuanians, Moldavians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Latvians, Uzbeks, Georgians, and people of other nationalities inhabiting our country.

Those who took the floor yesterday and today expressed their concern over the problems regarding the Belorussian language. These problems do exist. We are taking steps to correct the situation, to enhance the role of the Belorussian language and culture in public affairs. The Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and the Republican government have decided to open kindergartens, schools, and classrooms where Belorussian language will be spoken. Colleges and universities will expand the studies of the native language; the number of Belorussian publications will be increased; professional and amateur theaters and groups will stage more productions by Belorussian playwrights; the training and advance training of Belorussian language and literature teachers will be improved. We should consistently promote these activities in the future as well.

To be objective, however, we have to confess that we have been marking time. Those who spoke yesterday cited examples and statistical figures reflecting the situation with the Belorussian language. I don't think we should repeat them today again. This means that we should step up our efforts to remedy our mistakes and oversights. A great deal will depend on the state bodies of power and, of course, on the Supreme Soviet and its deputies.

Language issues are not the only problems we face. We should spare no effort to raise the standards of the Belorussian culture and arts and to preserve historical monuments. Other problems have cropped up too.

We should take urgent steps to improve the patriotic and internationalist education across the board but first of all among the young people. Using persuasion and the power of law, we should at the same time interdict any attempts to translate natural national feelings into destructive nationalism, and we should also prevent certain individuals from using broader democracy and glasnost for anti-democratic purposes.

The Belorussian Supreme Soviet should get in the midst of all these issues as well. The standing commission on nationalities and interethnic relations should become its powerful tool in solving these complicated issues.

On behalf of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, I submit a proposal, endorsed by the council of elders on establishing a standing commission on nationalities and interethnic relations under the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, comprising 21 deputies.

The Belorussian Supreme Soviet passed unanimously the resolution on establishing a standing commission on national and interethnic relations. The resolution was published in the press.

Resolution on New Commission

18000344b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 23 Nov 88 p 3

[Text of Supreme Soviet Resolution]

[Text] Resolution on New Commission

The Resolution of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet on establishing a Standing commission on nationalities and interethnic relations under the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic decrees:

(1) To establish a Standing commission on nationalities and interethnic relations under the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, comprising 21 members.

(2) Elect the following deputies as members of the commission on nationalities and intra-national relations:

Ivan Gavrilovich Chigrinov, Chairman of the Commission, deputy from the Orekhov electoral district of the Vitebsk region.

Nikolay Fyodorovich Grinev, deputy chairman of the commission, deputy from the Mogilov-Molodezhnyi electoral district of the Mogilev region.

Commission members:

Zair Isaakovich Azgur, deputy from the Timoshenko electoral district of the city of Minsk. Vasilii Vladimirovich Bykov, deputy from the Turov electoral district of the Gomel region. Aleksandr Vladimirovich Bogolodov, deputy of the Vitebsk-Gorkov electoral district of the Vitebsk region. Gennadiy Vasilievich Buday, deputy from the Kolosov electoral district of the Mogilev region (deceased). Olga Alekseyevna Vayteshik, deputy from the Soligorsk rural electoral district of the Minsk region. Aleksandr Adamovich Grakhovskiy, deputy from the Ozarich electoral district of the Gomel region. Galina Ivanovna Godun, deputy from the Brest-Zapadnyi electoral district of the Brest region. Gennadiy Stanislavovich Drobashchevskiy, deputy from the Vitebsk-Kirov electoral district of the the Vitebsk region. Ivan Albinovich Kenik, deputy from the Mozersk-Tsentralniy electoral district of the Gomel region. Igor Mikhaylovich Luchenok, deputy from the Goloded electoral district in the city of Minsk. Vera Andreyevna Novikova, deputy from the Papanin electoral district in the city of Minsk. Boris Andreyevich Putrik, deputy from the Krivich electoral district of the Minsk region. Vladimir Stanislavovich Redko, deputy from the Tarnov electoral district of the Grodno region. Yuriy Petrovich Smirnov, deputy from the Zhudrov electoral district in the city of Minsk. Mikhail Vasilievich Solenik, deputy from the Gorodey electoral district of the Minsk region. Inna Arsenyevna Stavrovskaya, deputy from the Lidsk-Komsomolsk electoral district of the Grodno region. Ivan Viktorovich Titov, deputy from the Fashevsk electoral district of the Mogilev region. Leonid Konstantinovich Tolkach, deputy from the David-Gorodok electoral district of the Brest region. Ivan Konstantinovich Yarmoshchuk, deputy from the Svisloch electoral district of the Grodno region.

(3) Relieve the deputies of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet elected to the commission on nationalities and interethnic relations under the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet from their duties as members of other standing commissions to which they have been elected. Chairman of the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet
G. Tarazevich,
Secretary of the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.
L. Syroyegina

November 19, 1988

Minsk.

MoSSR Supsov Submits Recommendations on Constitutional Changes

18000319a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 23 Nov 88 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Meeting of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] On 22 November the Presidium of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet reviewed at its meeting matters concerning discussions in the republic of the draft laws of the

USSR "On Additions and Alterations of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR" and "On Elections of the People's Deputies of the USSR."

V. K. Pshenichnikov, deputy chairman of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, conducted the meeting.

L. A. Bolgarin and N. P. Kiriya, leaders of the working groups appointed by the Presidium, delivered reports.

The meeting took note of the fact that republic workers have taken an earnest and active part in discussing the draft laws, recognizing them as a confirmation of the party's consistent policy for the revolutionary renewal of society, for the resolution of urgent tasks pertaining to the reform of the political system and the creation of the lawfully constituted socialist state.

Discussion of the draft laws has been perceptibly influenced by the experience of preparing for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Under conditions of increasing democratization and glasnost, coupled with the political alertness of people, their desire to grasp the essence of proposed changes, and their awareness of the urgent need for democratic change entailed by the realities of the present political situation are particularly apparent. Various segments of the population have been participating in discussion together with a wide circle of specialists—jurists, economists, and social scientists, as well as representatives of the creative intelligentsia and young people.

Under the guidance of the soviets of people's deputies, a clear-cut procedure has been set up for generalizing the proposals and comments submitted with respect to the draft laws, thereby making it possible to assure taking into account the opinions of all persons participating in the discussion. The mass media has been actively engaged in this activity. Charged with special responsibility have been the working groups appointed by the Supreme Soviet Presidium, which have been sent proposals and comments from all over the republic regarding the draft legislation. Approximately 4,000 specific proposals and qualifying or critical comments have been delivered to these groups. Their content attests to the fact that the draft laws possess potentially sound and constructive scientific validity.

In the overwhelming majority of responses, the documents under discussion are judged to be a major step forward on the way to democratization and realization of the decisions of the 19th Party Congress, and they are receiving broad support. Proposals and comments of the workers include a variety of interesting observations, thoughts, and judgments. For the most part, the issues touched upon in them lead to a far more comprehensive theme—the provision of legal safeguards for the democratization of society in all of its aspects. Among other issues, attention is focused primarily on ensuring the supremacy of the Constitution in the Soviet legal system; forming bodies for expression of the power of the people;

democratization of the political structure and of social and economic life; increasing the responsibility of the corps of deputies; and extending and securing the rights of the individual.

Alternative proposals as well attest to a multiplicity of opinions contained in the responses to the draft laws. This is an important indicator of the democratic nature of the discussion process. At the same time, certain of these responses were found lacking in cogency, coherence, a calm depth of analysis, and a constructive character. Throughout the discussions certain people took a position completely hostile to the draft laws without sufficient legal ground, attempting to impose their own subjective opinions on others—a subject that came under consideration at one of the working group meetings.

Adoption of the legislation presented for public discussion, after due consideration of constructive additions and comments submitted by the workers, will make it possible not only to consolidate the results of the initial stage of reforming the political system, but to create the preconditions for further movement forward, resolving the urgent tasks submitted for discussion by the CPSU Central Committee plenum "On the Development of Relations Between Nationalities in the USSR." These include, among other tasks, improving the Soviet Socialist Federation, developing further the legal status of union and autonomous republics, extending legal guarantees, and meeting the national and cultural needs of Soviet citizens.

The MoSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the basis of preliminary results of the discussion within the republic concerning the draft laws of the USSR "On Additions and Alterations of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR" and "On Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR," which attest to the support of an absolute majority of the population, unanimously adopted this legislation and approved its submission for examination by the extraordinary 12th Session, 11th Convocation, of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

It was decided to inform the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of the opinions of the members of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium recommending that the following provisions be incorporated into the draft law of the USSR "On Additions and Alterations of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR":

—Adding a provision in Article 93 of the draft law to the effect that it is incumbent upon soviets of people's deputies to monitor environmental protection and the efficient use of natural resources;

—Rendering the wording of Article 108 Paragraph 4 of the draft law consistent with the second part of Article 6 of the existing Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR;

—In Article 113 Paragraph 9 of the draft law, in place of the words "establishes general principles and determines basic guidelines for the activities of republic and local organs of state power and administration," substituting the words "establishes general principles for the organization and functioning of republic and local organs of state power and administration," with regard to the right of the republic congress of people's deputies to determine basic guidelines for the activities of local organs of state power and administration;

—Supporting the proposal of the union deputy preparatory commission, charged with reviewing and generalizing materials submitted in connection with public discussion of the draft laws, that in addition to a chairman and deputy chairman, 25 members, instead of 13 members, including one from each union republic, be elected to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee. At the same time, it is more expedient to make the term of office in the committee commensurate with the term of office in the Congress of People's Deputies, which is to say, for 5 years.

It is recommended to the soviets of people's deputies, their staffs, and the corps of deputies in the republic that the increased social and political activity of the workers and the initiative of the people, which has been aroused by discussion of the draft legislation, be fully exploited in order to stir maximum activity and create an atmosphere of responsible, concerted effort, based on unity of purpose in restructuring and democratization

D. T. Balan, chairman of the executive committee of the Leninskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, participated in discussing the issue, together with the following members of the MoSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: A. G. Zhdanov, A. V. Simashkevich, L. I. Gural, D. I. Nidelku, V. S. Skripnik, I. A. Paliy, and V. A. Vinebracha.

S. K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian CP Central Committee and a member of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, addressed the meeting.

Writers Union Secretary Reprimanded for 'Irresponsible Announcement'

18000319b Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 26 Nov 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Party Control Commission of the CPSU Central Committee: The Price of Misinformation,—Concerning an Irresponsible Statement by I. D. Khadyrke, Secretary of the Board of the MoSSR Writers Union, at a Plenary Meeting of the Board of this Creative Organization on 16 November 1988"

[Text] The Party Control Commission under the Moldavian CP Central Committee, in collaboration with I. M. Grossu, head of the department of culture of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, and I. K. Chobanu, first secretary of the board of the MoSSR Writers Union,

conducted a review of a report delivered by Board Secretary I. D. Khadyrke at a plenum of the board on 16 November 1988, which had been based on a letter that had been sent to him. The commission then recessed.

After a study of the assembled documents, the commission reached the following conclusions:

As it happened, on 15 November 1988 a meeting of the Moldavian CP Central Committee was held under the chairmanship of Central Committee Secretary V. F. Semenov, together with leaders and party organization secretaries of ministries and departments under their jurisdiction. By polling an absolute majority of those attending the meeting, the commission established that the focus of its attention would be given to a thorough review and discussion of the Theses of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, the MoSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the MoSSR Council of Ministers, entitled "Concrete Measures by Which to Establish the Restructuring." The meeting served to underscore the necessity of eliminating formalism and over-simplification in this undertaking, and of creating conditions under which the workers, in the course of discussing this document, could openly and freely express their proposals and critical comments, which could then be generalized upon. The meeting of the Moldavian CP Central Committee was conducted in a cordial and businesslike atmosphere, and the participants gave specific answers to all questions addressed to them.

Many of the participants at the meeting of the Moldavian CP Central Committee expressed dismay at the substance of a speech made by I. D. Khadyrke at a plenary session of the republic Writers Union Board. They categorically denied his allegation that recommendations had been made at the meeting to work out measures to assure full and unanimous support of the Theses. Assertions of I. D. Khadyrke that instructions that were anti-democratic in character had been issued at the Moldavian CP Central Committee meeting were also found to be without foundation in fact.

The Party Control Commission of the Moldavian CP Central Committee found that I. D. Khadyrke had not checked the impartiality of the letter sent to him. Aware that it had been sent to him for the purpose of exacerbating the situation in the republic, he acted improperly as a member of the CPSU, as party bureau secretary, and as board secretary of the MoSSR Writers Union, by distorting the substance of discussion at the Moldavian CP Central Committee meeting and misinforming the plenum. As a result, a majority of the members of the board of Writers Union and persons invited to attend the plenum were misled regarding what had happened at the Moldavian CP Central Committee meeting. The negative reaction that resulted virtually disrupted the plenum.

It is the considered opinion of the Party Control Commission under the Moldavian CP Central Committee

that the speech by I. D. Khadyrke is to be regarded as biased, politically damaging, inflammatory in character, and at cross purposes with the policy prevailing in the country of democratization and glasnost, a policy presupposing the use in discussion only of facts that have been checked and verified, and the political implications of which have been carefully weighed.

In view of the fact that I. D. Khadyrke attempted, deliberately or otherwise, by his irresponsible declaration to distort the work done by the Moldavian CP Central Committee to consolidate all segments of society in the interests of restructuring, the Party Control Commission of the Moldavian CP Central Committee instructed the primary party organization of the MoSSR Writers Union to review the question of his responsibility to the party, in accordance with the Party Rules.

I. D. Khadyrke at the meeting acknowledged to the commission that his speech to the plenum of the Writers Union board had been lacking in objectivity. The commission suggested that he give the plenum truthful and reliable information regarding the matters referred to in his speech.

**MSSR CC CP, Presidium, Council of Ministers
on Proposals to 'Affirm Perestroyka'**
*18000317 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 11 Nov 88 pp 1-3*

[Unattributed report entitled: "In the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Republic Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpts] The Buro of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers have approved theses of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, and Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers titled "Affirm Restructuring Through Concrete Action."

The party gorkoms and raykoms, city and rayon soviet ispolkoms, Moldavian Council of Trade Unions, Central Committee of the Moldavian Leninist Communist Youth League, ministries, state committees and departments have been instructed to conduct a discussion of the theses in party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations and at meetings in labor collectives, to generalize criticism and proposals, and to systematically inform the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers.

The mass information and propaganda media have been instructed to broadly cover the course of the discussion of the theses.

**Theses of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, and Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers:
Affirm Restructuring Through Concrete Action.**

Our country is living through a significant time. Revolutionary restructuring, initiated and organized by the CPSU, is under way. The party's policy of democratization and glasnost and disclosure of the humanistic essence of socialism, a policy which was worked out at the 27th Congress and received further development in the decisions of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU, has radically changed the ideological and political atmosphere in the country. All society is in motion. The policy of restructuring, elaborated specifically in social and economic programs, is becoming the practical undertaking of millions of working people. Today their consolidation and unity are critical to the success in implementing the reforms of the economic and political system that in the final analysis will determine our country's destiny.

Like all Soviet people, the Moldavian SSR's working people are wholeheartedly devoted to the cause of restructuring and ardently support the party's policy of restoring the Leninist character of socialism and carrying out the revolutionary transformation of all aspects of life. In the republic a new political and moral atmosphere is being established, democracy is being expanded and deepened, the social activeness of the masses is growing, and obsolete stereotypes and dogmas are crumbling. People are striving to understand the changes that are being carried out and the reasons for past errors more deeply, and they are rejecting false slogans, empty verbiage and bureaucratism. Positive changes are taking shape in important areas of socioeconomic and spiritual development. All these are the assets of restructuring.

But the liabilities also remain. Stagnation and conservatism have so far yielded only their initial fortified positions. The braking mechanism has not been completely broken and is slowing the pace of the introduction of new forms of economic management, the growth of production, and the improvement of people's well-being. The lessons of glasnost are being learned with difficulty; glasnost requires both deepening and support, as well as protection against personal or narrow group interests and ambitions. The priorities of work, new thinking and responsibility are not being established very fast. The obstructions of the past have not yet been removed, "blank spots" remain in the history of society, and other problems in the spiritual sphere have not been solved. Vestiges of the command style in direction of the economy, science and culture, and manifestations of dogmatism, philistine morality and social dependency are making themselves known. There has been no decisive turn from talk of restructuring to actual work.

All this is causing concern among workers, kolkhoz members, office employees, the scientific and creative intelligentsia and young people, and occupies a central

place in the restructuring efforts of the republic's party and soviet agencies and public organizations.

Taking into account the desire of the republic's working people to make a real contribution to implementation of the renewal strategy worked out by the party and to carry out the specific programs, adopted in accordance with the decisions of the 16th Congress of the Moldavian Communist Party, for the provision of the population with food, housing and consumer goods and the development of health care, public education and culture, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, and Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers have formulated these theses and are submitting them for discussion by the republic's population. They take into account the ideas and proposals contained in oral and written statements by the working people addressed to party and soviet agencies and the mass media, and in appeals by members of the writers' and film workers' unions, the Secretariat of the Board of the Moldavian Union of Theater Workers, labor collectives, and grassroots groups. In publishing the theses, we are proceeding from the need to consolidate the efforts of the republic's working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia on behalf of accelerating the process of revolutionary renewal, expanding the social base of restructuring, and enlisting all strata of the population in it.

I

1. Restructuring has created a fundamentally new ideological and political situation in society. It has become a reality and is gaining momentum, spreading in depth and breadth, and encompassing all strata of the population and spheres of life. The situation in the republic, as in the country as a whole, is characterized by the deepening of democracy, expansion of glasnost, and increasing affirmation of the pluralism of opinions and open comparison of ideas and views. The working people are gaining the possibility of making fuller use of their intellectual and creative potential and becoming more actively involved in public life. The masses are becoming increasingly aware of the unalterable truth that democracy, glasnost, responsibility and reason are the political and moral bulwark of restructuring, and that its main goal is creation and practical deeds.

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference initiated a fundamental reform of the political system aimed at achieving full democracy in the country in a short period and erecting new organizational structures to support it. It firmly formulated the position concerning the primacy of the law in all areas of life and the development of a law-based socialist state and establishment of the unconditional equality of each and every person before the law. Draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution and elections of USSR people's deputies have been submitted for broad public discussion. Soon the drafts of other legislative acts will be published. Drafts of analogous documents are also being prepared

in the Moldavian SSR and will also be widely discussed. Real possibilities are being created for every person to be able in actual fact to exercise his right to take part in the management of the affairs of state and society through a system of soviets of people's deputies; party, trade-union, Komsomol and other existing public organizations; and associations of working people.

At the same time, the process of restructuring, democracy and glasnost is still proceeding in a contradictory fashion, through the surmounting of difficulties and struggle of the new with the old. Vestiges of conservative, bureaucratic and dogmatic attitudes have proved especially tenacious. The forces that do not want changes, see restructuring as a threat to their selfish interests, and are striving to retard the great cause of the revolutionary renewal of society, have been slow to yield their positions. The socioeconomic mechanism, which is rooted in the past, that is slowing and impeding progressive transformations continues to function. The attitudes of some individuals have manifested a distorted idea of pluralism, freedom and democracy that does not link them with the highest responsibility to oneself and society. As a result, there have been individual manifestations of disorganization, license and egoism, which is incompatible with genuine freedom and democracy. Some people today exhibit a duality in their thinking. While welcoming, in words, the party's principled appraisals and conclusions concerning the situation in the country, they are in no hurry to apply that demandingness and exactingness to the appraisal of their own work and their own collectives. [passage omitted]

2. Under the conditions of restructuring, the vanguard role of the CPSU as the guarantor of the renewal of society is intensified. Through self-criticism and a responsible attitude toward its political leadership, an ability to focus the mood of the popular masses and express the working people's interests, initiative, and decisiveness in drawing up and implementing a scientifically substantiated program of revolutionary transformations, the party has gained authority as the working people's leading detachment, which is capable of ensuring success. The working people entirely support its ideas and deeds, for in Lenin's words, they "pertain to the whole people, that is, they affect the fundamental and most profound conditions of the entire country's political life" ("Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 21, p 319).

For the republic party organization, the period that has passed since April 1985 has been a serious and demanding test of its maturity and ability to influence social processes and overcome manifestations of conservatism and dogmatism and stereotypes of bureaucratic thinking and action.

In the years of stagnation, many republic party committees and organizations were unable to stick to principled positions and wage a resolute struggle against negative phenomena, license, protectionism and a weakening of

discipline. Some executive personnel put themselves outside supervision and criticism, which resulted in failures in work, serious violations of legality, report padding, deception, bribery, servility and adulation. Party committees quite frequently taken over and duplicated the functions of state and economic-management agencies and emphasized the command style of management.

The republic party organization has drawn the most serious lessons from all this. At the 16th Congress of the Moldavian Communist Party and, especially, at the Central Committee's Fourth Plenum, the causes of shortcomings and abnormal phenomena were uncompromisingly analyzed and disclosed, and constructive measures were worked out that have made it possible to carry out a restructuring of personnel policy, enhance the role and prestige of collegial bodies, and fundamentally improve the moral and psychological climate.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee's Seventh Plenum, which discussed the report of the Central Committee Buro on the guidance of restructuring in the republic, was an important milestone on the path of eliminating past shortcomings. Implementing its decisions, party committees are endeavoring more and more persistently to rid themselves of excessive and pointless meetings and paper methods of guidance. In the structure and nature of the issues discussed, emphasis has been placed on political methods of accomplishing tasks that have been set, methods which exclude the taking over and duplication of the functions of soviet and economic-management personnel and of the executives of public organizations. In order to study public opinion, party committees have started to make more active use of the forum of republic and local newspapers, questionnaires, sociological studies, and meetings with people. Such effective forms of oversight as the hearing of reports from party, soviet, trade-union and economic-management personnel and specialists on their fulfillment of the CPSU Statutes, party decisions and their official duties have become widespread in the republic.

Democratic principles and glasnost are developing in personnel work. A reorganization of the structure of the party committees' apparatuses is being carried out. The apparatus of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee is being reduced by 30 percent, the number of its subdivisions is being cut in half, and commissions of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee are being set up to cover the most important areas of the republic organization's activities.

The work of city, rayon and primary party organizations is acquiring a new democratic content. This manifested itself especially clearly in the course of the current report and election campaign. More than 65,000 proposals and critical observations aimed at restructuring party organizations' work style and enhancing their militancy and independence were expressed at the meetings that were held. In half of the meetings the elections of party leaders

offered alternatives. Communists showed greater exactingness in evaluating the work of elective bodies. The work of 110 party group organizers, and 65 secretaries of party buros and shop and primary party organizations was deemed unsatisfactory.

At the same time, an exacting analysis of the state of affairs locally allows one to draw the conclusion that the restructuring of the republic's party organizations is proceeding slowly. The state of the democratization of internal party relations is not what it should be, the dependency mentality has not been overcome, and there are significant recurrences of the administrative command style of guidance, subjective approaches, and disregard for logic and the realities of circumstances. Some party organizations and CPSU members are not taking the genuinely vanguard stand that the CPSU Statutes demand. [passage omitted]

3. The main direction of the democratization of our society and political system is the full restoration of the role and authority of the soviets of people's deputies as fully empowered agencies of popular representation, and the creation of a law-based socialist state. The soviets organically combine the principles of statehood and self-government. Possessing tremendous democratic potential, they have demonstrated their viability and confirmed the correctness of Lenin's discovery. Today the task is to restructure the entire government system up to the level of overall statehood.

In recent years certain positive changes have taken place and shoots of the new have manifested themselves in the work of soviets in the republic. A more businesslike approach and an intensification of glasnost, criticism and self-criticism have become characteristic of them. The work of soviet sessions has come to be characterized to a greater degree by collegiality, the frank exchange of opinions, the objective evaluation of results that have been achieved, and the constructiveness of decisions. The population has begun to be better informed about issues submitted for consideration, and the preliminary discussion of materials to be taken up at sessions is being carried out in meetings of standing committees, in labor collectives, and at citizens' meetings. In their practical work the soviets are relying on numerous public grassroots organizations and on those organizations' activists.

At the same time, we see serious shortcomings in the work of soviets and dissatisfaction among the working people with the work of many of them. As the result of well-known deformations of socialism, the rights and powers of representative bodies have proved to be curtailed, and unwarranted tutelage over them on the part of party committees persists. In many cases ministries, departments and economic-management agencies bypass the soviets in deciding socioeconomic questions. The executive committees and their staffs frequently usurp their functions, leaving it to the deputies merely to sanction decisions that have already been taken.

As a consequence, local soviets in the republic cannot fully perform their assigned role in deciding matters connected with the social and economic development of the territories under them, the restructuring of the economic mechanism, the renewal of cultural life, and the implementation of programs aimed at improving housing conditions, supplying food, consumer goods and services, and protecting the environment and people's health.

It is necessary to radically change this state of affairs, restore real authority and power to the soviets, and pass on for their consideration and resolution all specific questions, without exception, pertaining to state, economic and social and cultural life. Today the foundations and principles of popular government by the soviets laid down by V. I. Lenin are acquiring their initial essence and are being decisively rid of manner of bureaucratic encrustations.

The reform of the political system, the comprehensive program of practical measures in the area of state construction, and the laws and decrees that are being drawn up are aimed at the real implementation of the slogan "All power to the soviets!" and the enhancement of public organizations' role in state administration. They are fundamentally expanding the material and financial capabilities of democratic bodies, granting and guaranteeing them full responsibility and independence on their territories, regularizing their structure, reforming the election system, and clarifying the status and powers of deputies. [passage omitted]

4. Under the conditions of the one-party system that has historically developed in our country, the CPSU attaches great importance to enhancing the role and activating the system of political, public and ideological institutions that reflect the unity and uniqueness of the interests of the Soviet people and serve as a link in the people's socialist self-government and tie between the party and the people.

Soviet Moldavia's public organizations possess sufficient potential, encompassing more than 200,000 Communists, 2.2 million trade-union members, nearly 600,000 Komsomol members, and hundreds of thousands of members of cooperative, veterans, women's and other organizations. There are a great many creative aspects to their work. At the same time, public organizations have not overcome such shortcomings as over-organization, formalism, and the weakening of independence, which the working people do not accept.

Every public organization has its own primary cells, which are endowed with appropriate rights and duties. The task is to get this experience-tested, flexible mechanism for involving all strata of the working people in the resolution of state and public matters to start working at full capacity and to oppose itself to uncontrolled processes and the "democracy of street rallies," which

are diverting the working people from accomplishing the essential tasks of restructuring.

II

1. Practical work is being carried out in the republic to implement the party's strategic policy of accelerating socioeconomic development. A fundamental restructuring is being carried out in the economy, and its social orientation is being intensified. Steps are being taken to shift the economy to an intensive course of development, administrative command methods of management are being eliminated, and the processes of the technical reconstruction of production are being accelerated. [passage omitted]

However, the pace of restructuring in the republic's economy does not yet accord with the demands of the times. Its reliance on high expenditures is not being overcome fast enough, and the potential of scientific and technological progress and new methods of economic management is not being fully utilized.

The situation in the economy demands vigorous and well-organized action. It must be remembered that the economy is the foundation of social reforms, and that highly productive labor is the sole basis for improvement of the people's well-being. It is important to develop and support initiative from below, enhance labor activeness and discipline, and genuinely develop cost accounting and socialist competition.

2. The republic's economy is a constituent part of the USSR's unified national economic complex, from which it follows that the regional economy's development is dependent on the unity of statewide goals and on the all-union division and cooperative organization of labor. The economic interaction between the Moldavian SSR and the all-union economy is close and diversified. It manifests itself in the fact that many types of resources (fuel of all types, metal, wood, chemical products, etc.) used in the republic's material production are shipped in from other regions of the USSR.

In turn, the Moldavian SSR supplies the country's national economy with foodstuffs and machinery and light-industry products.

New approaches are being developed to territorial management and the introduction of regional cost accounting, which has nothing in common with national and territorial isolation or with the abandonment of the development of the country's economy as a unified complex.

In accordance with a decision by the republic's government, a working group has been set up to develop proposals for shifting the region to the new principles of economic management with a view to the specific features of the republic, which includes within it leading scientists at research institutes and higher educational

institutions; specialists in the republic and union-republic ministries, state committees, union enterprises, and local planning and financial agencies; and the representatives of public organizations and creative unions. We are counting on broad participation by state and public organizations, scientists, journalists and all the republic's working people in the development of proposals; after all, the problem of regional cost accounting affects the interests of broad strata of the population.

3. In the restructuring period, the social orientation of the economy has been intensified, which has been reflected in an improvement of investment policy. [passage omitted]

At the same time, the problems of providing the population with housing and social facilities remain acute. Waiting lists for housing are still sizeable, and the need for children's preschool institutions, general-education schools, hospitals, etc. is not being fully met. [passage omitted]

4. The satisfaction of the republic population's need for high-quality foodstuffs continues to be an extremely important problem in the social sphere.

In recent years specific steps have been taken in this direction. As a result, there has been a tendency toward overcoming stagnation-related phenomena in the republic's agroindustrial complex and toward increasing production volumes of agricultural products. Labor productivity has risen, and the economy of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and associations has grown stronger. The processing branches have put many new types of food products into production.

However, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the republic Council of Ministers are concerned over the fact that the necessary scale and rate of restructuring in the development of the agroindustrial complex have not been achieved at the local level. In some places success has not been realized in breaking up the retardation mechanism, accomplishing a radical turnabout in utilizing existing production, economic and scientific potential more efficiently, and accomplishing social and political-upbringing tasks in the countryside. [passage omitted]

More persistent and consistent efforts should be made to introduce new forms of organizing and providing incentives for labor and to introduce lease, contract, cooperative, and other cost-accounting relations. The shift to the new democratic system of managing the republic's agroindustrial complex must be carried out by the beginning of 1989. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, associations and enterprises should be freed of administrative-command regulation. In order to overcome the differences between the city and the countryside, a special program needs to be developed and implemented with a view to changing

investment policy in favor of the countryside and providing it with specific, practical assistance. [passage omitted]

5. During the years of restructuring, the republic has been partially successful in overcoming the trend, which has persisted for a long time, whereby the growth in the population's monetary income outpaces the growth in consumer goods. There has been a certain improvement in satisfying people's needs for certain types of garments, footwear, and cultural, everyday and household goods. But this has only led to a partial reduction in unsatisfied demand.

The lack of needed quantities of high-quality goods in stores is evoking justifiable criticism from the working people. A sizeable assortment of cultural, everyday and household goods, including technically simple ones, must be shipped in from other regions of the country.

Decisive progress is needed in the direction of increasing the production of consumer goods and improving their quality. A Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and the Services Sphere for the Period up to the Year 2000 has been drawn up and is being implemented in the republic. [passage omitted]

6. Issues related to the condition of the human environment are directly bound up with social priorities. In recent years the environment has been causing justifiable concern among the republic's population. The ill-considered nature of a number of past production and economic decisions, the disregard for scientific norms of nature utilization in economic activity, and the poor ecological awareness of executives, specialists and the public have worsened the state of the region's natural resources. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and the republic government not only share people's concern but are taking concrete steps to improve land, water, forests and the atmospheric environment, and to establish a scientifically substantiated system for the conservation of natural resources. The republic was allocated 144 million rubles for these purposes in the 11th Five-Year Plan, and it has been allocated 40 percent more in the current five-year plan. On the basis of research and broad discussion, a Long-Range, Comprehensive Program for Environmental Protection and the Rational Utilization of Natural Resources in the Moldavian SSR for the Period up to 2005 has been drawn up and adopted. The course of its implementation is being closely monitored by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers. In recent years there have been positive changes: the amount of pesticides and herbicides per unit of area has been somewhat reduced; the planting of anti-erosion belts and the forestation of steep slopes are being carried out intensively; and some arable land has been turned to

meadow and taken out of crop rotation. Work in this area is continuing. [passage omitted]

III

1. The deepening of the processes of restructuring, democratization and glasnost presupposes the comprehensive development and maximum utilization of the intellectual and cultural potential that lies in science, education and culture. Today their role in the humanistic, moral, ethical and aesthetic upbringing of Soviet people is growing immeasurably. That places special responsibility on scientific and cultural figures, who are called on to strengthen the people's moral health and promote psychological restructuring and the overcoming of inertia, stagnation and conservatism. The moral state of society as a whole depends to an enormous extent on their civic maturity and the depth of their understanding of the interests of their people.

During the years of Stalinism and the period of stagnation, our country's culture suffered serious damage, which in the final analysis affected our people's spiritual condition. Standardization and one-sidedness in the approach to the development of national cultures and languages, unwarranted prematureness in evaluating the prospects for the merger of multinational cultures into a common national culture, the approach to the creation of cultural facilities that accorded them only what was left over, and finally, a disrespectful attitude toward the religious feelings of believers slowed down and distorted the natural process of the people's spiritual growth.

All these phenomena were characteristic of our region, as well as others. The republic's public is actively speaking of this today. In their appeals to the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, the republic's creative and scientific intelligentsia justifiably raises questions of improving the level of knowledge of the Moldavian language, of shortcomings in the physical facilities and equipment of theaters, clubs, libraries and other cultural institutions, and of the lack of proper concern for past and present cultural monuments. Party and soviet agencies consider these questions exceptionally important and believe that they require in-depth analysis and consistent resolution in the interests of developing national awareness and the culture of internationality relations, raising the educational level, and cleansing the spiritual and moral atmosphere.

In recent times party and state agencies have taken important decisions pertaining to the development and study of the Moldavian and Russian languages and the languages of the representatives of other nations and nationalities living in our republic. Special attention is being given to returning Moldavian culture to its sources. The republic has all the conditions needed for the study and utilization of the rich cultural legacy of the

peoples that inhabit our region, and the preservation and augmentation of that legacy for future generations.

2. In the process of expanding glasnost, the gap between the content of historical research and the rise in the public's interest in the historical past is becoming increasingly apparent. Life and experience insistently demand that historical science take a new approach to the treatment of many periods of the republic's history.

In adhering to a dialectical approach to history, it is impossible not to mention facts that have been completely ignored or interpreted in a one-sided fashion pertaining to the implementation of collectivization and the deportation of part of the population, the mass repressions, and obvious excesses in overcoming the postwar drought and famine. However, it must be made perfectly clear that we have no nations and nationalities that "gained" during the years of stagnation at the expense of others, just as we have no peoples that avoided bitter losses during the time of the Stalinist tyranny. Filled with the desire for rebirth, we have no right to forget that truth. Otherwise, emotions, national egoism and parochialism, or the tendency to turn individual cases into absolutes will gain the upper hand. In this connection we must not replace one half-truth with another and claim a monopoly on truth. Today it is extremely important to adhere strictly to historical truth, not to lose our class-oriented and party-minded sensibility, and not to succumb to sensationalism and subjective judgments. In this connection, historical scholarship must work out firm social guidelines that are commensurate with the times.

Of course, the elimination of "blank spots" cannot be carried out all at once. There is a need for serious and painstaking research work and a broad, pluralistic discussion of the research that is done. [passage omitted]

3. Vivid evidence of the soundness and viability of the internationalist nature of national relations can be seen in the free and equal use that is being established by USSR citizens of their native languages, and their mastery of Russian, which Soviet people have voluntarily adopted as a means of internationality intercourse, the use of which expands their access to the achievements of science, technology and our country's culture and world culture.

The public's reaction to the negative phenomena that were accumulated in past years and have still not been completely eliminated in the sphere of the functioning and development of national languages has been rather acute in the republic. People justifiably continue to be concerned by the state and prospects for development of Moldavian and the languages of the representatives of other nations and nationalities living within Moldavia. Urgent problems in this area are being actively discussed. The creative and scientific intelligentsia is correctly raising questions of improving the knowledge and use of language and language teaching and study,

expanding the sphere of the use of Moldavian and the other languages that are widespread in the republic, and creating conditions for the mastery of Russian as the language of internationality intercourse.

The adoption by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government of special decrees on improving the study of Moldavian and Russian, and the establishment of an Interdepartmental Commission of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet for the Study of the History and Problems of Development of the Moldavian Language are aimed at eliminating the deformations of the stagnation period and creating conditions for the development of harmonious and natural bilingualism, taking into account the specific features of the republic's historical development and national makeup and the impermissibility of any privileges or restrictions for any one language.

A number of specific measures in this area have been implemented in a relatively short period. The network of general-education schools with instruction in Moldavian is being expanded, and at the present time 64 percent of the republic's schools instruct children in Moldavian. The number of Moldavian preschool institutions is growing, and just since the beginning of this year an additional 208 Moldavian groups have been opened in kindergartens in the republic's cities. Conditions for conducting instruction in Moldavian are being expanded in vocational-technical schools, secondary specialized schools, and higher schools. Certain steps have been taken to create conditions for the successful mastery of Moldavian by the republic's population of nonindigenous nationalities, and numerous courses and study circles have been opened. Work to prepare Moldavian-language textbooks, scholarly methodological works, reference works and belles lettres for publication is being carried out at a growing pace. This work must be continued consistently and more vigorously.

Lately the question has been raised of according Moldavian the status of a state language. However, it should always be remembered that the language problem is extremely complex and delicate. Hasty conclusions and impulsiveness only impede the search for truth. Unfounded declarations that are supposedly made on the people's behalf hinder matters. Here emotions must not gain the upper hand, and the hasty issuing of decrees, which may lead to the complication of internationality relations, is impermissible. It is necessary to treat all nations and nationalities living in the republic with patience, goodwill and respect, and to take their interests thoroughly into account. As a resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference rightfully noted, any national problem should be solved calmly, with the utmost responsibility, and without damaging the internationalist cohesiveness of the Soviet people.

National-Russian bilingualism must be developed in every way possible, taking into account the fact that

bilingualism makes it possible to study and know one's native language and Russian in depth and creates the conditions for broad internationality intercourse.

Today every person may speak the language that he knows best. It would be good for knowledge of two or three languages to become the norm. But in endeavoring to achieve this, there must be no reliance on administrative orders or compulsion. There is not and should not be any restrictions on the holding of party, trade-union or Komsomol meetings, meetings of labor collectives, conferences, or any other actions and activities in either Moldavian, or Russian, Ukrainian, Gagauz, Bulgarian or other languages.

Bilingualism must be strictly observed in the naming of cities and villages, streets and squares, enterprises and organizations, and consumer goods; in visual agitation, advertising and information; and on transport and in communications enterprises.

As for the question of the identical nature of the two Eastern Romanian languages, it is indisputable that Moldavian and Romanian are languages of the same Romanian group. There is, indeed, no great difference between them. But recognition of its common, identical nature with other languages of the Romanian group cannot serve as grounds for abandoning it in favor of any other language. Foreign publications have strenuously whipped up the question of the Moldavian language and called its very existence into question. Lately people in our country have also started to share and propagate this idea.

The Moldavian language is an independent language that enjoys equal rights and has served the Moldavian people and the region's population for many centuries. It has its own history, present and future.

Assertions that cast doubts on the existence of a native language among the Moldavian people are scientifically unsubstantiated and insulting to the people. At the same time, we are obliged to proceed from the fact that the Moldavian language, like any other, does not function in an isolated environment but lives and develops in interaction with other languages, without losing its distinctiveness and independence in the process.

The national tradition of using Slavic (Cyrillic) script in writing has developed historically. The Cyrillic alphabet has served the culture of the Moldavian people for centuries, is familiar to it, and accords, on the whole, with the phonetic nature of Moldavian. Moreover, Slavic writing is also used by other nations and nationalities living in the republic. Transliteration into a Latin alphabet would require outlays of billions and tremendous amounts of materials, which would inevitably result in the failure to fulfill social programs projected for the next few decades, damage the population's well-being, negatively affect its spiritual development, and make it illiterate for many years.

Proposals to solve the problems that have accumulated in the functioning of Moldavian with some sort of one-time normative acts, decrees and commands from above are unfounded and wrong. There is no doubt that without any particular issuing of decrees, which would introduce impermissible reliance on administrative fiat in language practice within the context of the existing script, there are limitless possibilities today for the development of Moldavian, the elimination of existing encrustations and mistakes, the expansion of its sphere of use, and the improvement of the standards of its use. That is where our efforts should be directed.

The language question is a question not just of culture but of policy. As V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out, in language policy both artificial restrictions and special privileges are equally unacceptable ("Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," Vol 24, pp 115-120). In working to eliminate shortcomings and oversights and examining the problems of cultural policy, the state and development of Moldavian, bilingualism, and the questions that are being raised concerning a state language, the Latin alphabet and others, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and republic government call on the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia to strictly follow the principles of a carefully weighed and responsible policy and to be guided by the Leninist dialectical method of analyzing history and present reality.

It is necessary to work out a theoretical line in further language policy on the basis of a clear-cut and scientifically substantiated platform, and of genuinely Leninist principles for the development of national languages under the conditions of our multinational state. That problem will be considered at the CPSU Central Committee's plenum on the improvement of internationality relations. Soviet Moldavia is a multinational republic and should always show the utmost attention to absolutely all nations and nationalities, comprehensively improve bilingualism, and achieve real bilingualism in all areas of life.

4. Restructuring, democratization and glasnost, under the conditions of which a natural rise in people's national awareness is taking place, are creating the necessary conditions for overcoming negative phenomena that have built up for decades in the sphere of internationality relations. It is known that the real dynamism in socialist social relations that characterized their initial stage was subsequently substantially lost and undermined by the deviation from the Leninist principles of nationalities policy, by violations of legality during the period of the personality cult, and by the ideology and mentality of stagnation. In Moldavia in recent decades the results that had been achieved in resolving the nationalities question were also turned into absolutes, and at the same time the requirements of the full-fledged development of the Moldavian people and other nations and nationalities were not adequately taken into account.

At the present time the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and the republic government consider it to be a top-priority objective to bring about a decisive cleansing of artificial encrustations and deformations from the norms and principles governing the development of national processes. Any problems that arise in internationality relations in the republic should be resolved on a genuinely democratic basis, in the channel of restructuring. There is only one way that this can be achieved—by strengthening the unity of society, not through administrative pressure but through the utmost development of democracy.

The nationalities question is an extremely sensitive and delicate sphere of social relations. Therefore, the party considers the correct combination of the national and the international to be the central question of its internationalist policy.

In our region the representatives of many nations and nationalities have lived together since ancient times. And today the representatives of more than 100 nations and nationalities live as one family in the republic. In this connection it is perfectly obvious that civic responsibility and caution are required as never before in the practical resolution of the questions of internationality relations, and extremes and hastiness, the pinning of labels and the insulting of national feelings are impermissible. The boundary where the justifiable defense of the interests of one nation or national group may turn into disregard for other nations, and national narrow-mindedness, nationalism or chauvinism must be clearly recognized. In this responsible work it is necessary to be guided by the truth, which has been by history, that neither national isolationism nor national nihilism are compatible with socialism. Any kindling of national intolerance, playing on emotions, and unfounded statements and ill-considered appeals on behalf of the people are absolutely impermissible here. Young children and schoolchildren, whose knowledge and world views are not yet formed, must not be drawn into a tendentious dispute over this problem.

Any hasty conclusions in the sphere of internationality relations are harmful and dangerous. There is a need for a sober and intelligent approach, reasonableness and careful consideration. There must be painstaking work to improve the standards of internationality intercourse, the chief content of which consists of the internationalist precepts of a respectful attitude toward the history and culture of the USSR's peoples and the assimilation of the best material and spiritual values created by one's own and other Soviet nations. In this extremely responsible work there is a need for the unity and consolidation of all forces—Communists and nonmembers of the party, atheists and believers, veterans and young people, and people of various generations and of all our republic's nations and nationalities.

5. Historical and cultural landmarks are rightfully considered the people's invaluable cultural property, its wealth and pride. However, today one increasingly hears

expressions of public concern over the fate of many architectural creations of the past, literary and natural preserves, and memorials. And this is natural: at turning points in the development of society, interest in the historical and cultural legacy grows more acute. The pain that is felt for the mistakes that have led to irrecoverable losses of the people's valuables also grows more acute. That sort of thing has happened because of a failure to understand the importance of historical and cultural landmarks as common spiritual property, which are in equal degrees the object of pride and the object of concern. This is characteristic of our republic, as well, where the general state of the historical and cultural legacy does not accord with present-day requirements. Proceeding on this basis, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government this year adopted a decree "On Additional Measures for Improving the Protection, Restoration and Use of Historical and Cultural Landmarks," which outlines specific measures for protecting landmarks, drawing up special-purpose programs, restoration, and preventing the unwarranted razing of historic buildings. A program has been approved for the restoration, conservation, repair and use of historical and cultural landmarks in the Moldavian SSR for the period up to 2000, and for improving the utilization of the historical and cultural legacy in the development in the working people of moral historical awareness and of a sense of Soviet patriotism and internationalism.

Komsomol and trade-union organizations, creative unions and grassroots associations should take the most active part in implementing the long-term program for ensuring the protection, restoration and effective utilization of landmarks. [passage omitted]

6. As the 19th All-Union Party Conference's resolution "On Glasnost" stresses, in the implementation of the party's policy of democratizing life, carrying out a radical economic reform, and tapping society's full spiritual potential, a special role belongs to the mass media. Newspapers and magazines, radio and television are on the frontier of restructuring today. They are generalizing and propagandizing proven advanced practices and resolutely opposing bureaucratism, deformations of socialism, and negative phenomena. Their influence on socioeconomic development and on the republic's spiritual life is growing. [passage omitted]

The press should work for restructuring, help people analyze complex problems, unify them and not divide them, not sow confusion and doubts in people's minds, and not attempt to speculate on glasnost and democracy but steadily and consistently develop these extremely important elements of revolutionary renewal. One of the

main tasks today is to protect society against dangerous attacks of extremism from any quarter, not to yield a single iota of glasnost and openness, not to slow the pace of democratization and restructuring itself by a single step, and to manifest restraint and revolutionary resolve.

Criticism in the press and on radio and television must be both cultivated and developed. But it should be specific and supported by proof, not degrading but healing. Glasnost must not be taken as anyone's exclusive privilege. It is the property of everyone.

Only politically immature conclusions, attempts to cast aspersions on the spiritual values of socialism, and the loss of political maturity, especially in the inculcation of patriotism and internationalism, are incompatible with glasnost and the openness of our society. The work of the republic's press, television, radio and publishing houses should be subordinated to the strengthening of the Soviet people's internationalist solidarity on the basis of close attention to and respect for specific national characteristics and psychology and the working people's vital interests. The chief criteria in the evaluation of each publication and broadcast are, first and foremost, the interests of restructuring.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, in submitting these theses for general public discussion, realize that they do not contain a universal program or platform for the multifaceted activities of party, soviet and economic-management agencies, public organizations and labor collectives. They formulate, in concentrated form, the most important, top-priority problems and tasks, the solution and accomplishment of which depend on each of us and on how we affirm restructuring through actual deeds. [passage omitted]

We are counting not only on an interested and constructive discussion of these theses, but also on the further strengthening of the unity, consolidation and cohesiveness of workers, kolkhoz members, the scientific and creative intelligentsia and young people, and on their active involvement in the renewal process and movement from words to action. As M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has pointed out by way of guiding us all, today existing problems cannot be solved by rallies and discussions alone. Rallies, slogans and appeals should be followed by concrete deeds on everyone's part. In short, the time of practical deeds is at hand.

Readers Defend Reputation of Former Uzbek First Secretary U. Yusupov

Newspaper Introduces Topic

18300115a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
16 Oct 88 p 1

[Article by R. Sabirov under the rubric "The Journalist's Column": "Confronting One's Conscience"]

[Text] Our people are in a turning point of their history. We have honestly and courageously assessed our past. We have told the entire world about the errors and abuses, about the cult of personality and its consequences. About voluntarism and subjectivism. About luxury and high living, about stars and orders.

Yes, there were bloody repressions, the "great" decades, the "unique periods" and the closest "shining heights." The people provided a clear assessment to all of this: the Stalin and Brezhnev periods. And in our republic the political, economic and social problems were termed Sharaf Rashid times.

It would be hard now to accuse the Soviet people of cowardly forgetfulness. On the contrary, we talk about all of this directly, without accusations and on a high emotional level. After so many years of dumb silence, we, finally, have begun to talk about all of this which disturbs the Soviet people and about the true complexities of our life.

There is a process underway of civil development. Let us be frank to ourselves, even if this is a belated process. But it will be successful only in the instance that an honest and objective view of life is not concealed by a subjective approach, by a personal interest, selfishness or group passions.

Restructuring and renewal of society dictate a revision of many criteria and concrete views.

It is essential to put both the assets and the liabilities on the scales. And pay proper due to each and every one. Both in terms of accomplishments and in terms of errors. Objectively and without prejudice. Only justly. People have a thirst for the complete truth. But the poison of a half-truth can be turned into an ulcer and distort the purest image. People want to know everything. They must be told who is who.

Today our newspaper is publishing a letter from party and labor veterans about one of the prominent figures in Soviet Uzbekistan, Usman Yusupovich Yusupov. The turning of the "Old Guard" to the press has been caused by the fact that in a number of the periodicals articles have appeared in which U.Yu. Yusupov is portrayed as a man imparted with only flaws, as "a man of Stalin," and as one of those who actively participated in the mass public dishonorings and even destruction of people. And there is not a single word of what titanic activities he

carried out in being in the most difficult areas of state, party and economic work. We feel that the entire republic would side with this letter. Proof of this is the numerous appeals from the workers to the party, soviet and public organizations and to the press with a request to defend the honor of U. Yusupov and not to allow to triumph those who under the pretext of fighting for glasnost and with the arbitrariness of the past would endeavor to blacken this talented and cordial man.

We feel that the principle of the historical method should be the main thing in assessing the activities of people as well as phenomena. This means that the deeds of people and events must be judged considering the conditions prevailing at those times. And not from the heights of today's permissiveness.... It is easy to speak about previous errors. Just as it is to portray oneself as a fighter for "justice" later on. Otherwise, we will subvert not only U. Yusupov but also Akmal Ikramov and Vayzulla Khodzhayev. And many others. Otherwise we would never restore the good name of scores and hundreds of faithful and worthy sons of the Uzbek people who suffered unjustly in the past. And certainly they must be remembered by name!

An indispensable condition for any criticism should be its accurate target and careful analysis of the situation. Not emotion but rather a knowledge of the essence of the matter and a sober analysis of the entire total of facts. And not only the facts. What about the method of evidence and the tone set in the articles? A gloating digging into the past does not produce anything good and a distorted presentation leads to serious errors and, most essentially, has nothing in common with either glasnost or democracy.

This must be remembered. By the scientists, by literary workers, by each and every one. To be completely objective, honest and just. And without fail decent. To history and to one's conscience.

Media Bashing of Yusupov Attacked

18300115a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
16 Oct 88 p 2

[Letter to the editors: "The Criterion of Glasnost is the Truth"]

[Text] Under the conditions of the democratization of Soviet society and the evermore established glasnost, there is a rethinking of our ancient and recent history and modern reality. In his Report at the 19th Party Conference, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M.S. Gorbachev pointed out that the 3 years which have passed since the 27th CPSU Congress "...have been marked by intense work of social awareness. There has been an honest, critical discussion of the state of affairs in all areas of our life. Probably for the first time in very many years, even decades, we have

looked at ourselves not only frankly and without prejudice but also in the context of all aspects of our development. Now for the sake of searching for the truth and not for gain, now at a price of the boldness of objective research and not for opportunistic considerations."

And actually the depth, uncompromisingness and sharpness of critical analysis of the past, the roots and sources of the tragedy of the 1920s and 30s and the crisis phenomena which beset our society in the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s have taken firm root in life. And we, the veterans of the party, the war and labor, completely support the line of the CPSU for uncompromisingness in assessing our historical past and truly Marxist-Leninist analysis of it, for without a profound and thorough analysis of the past it is impossible to understand the present and build the future of a renewed socialist society.

At the same time, we cannot remain indifferent when among the undoubtedly socially significant, objective, theoretically sound and unbiased statements by historians, economists, philosophers, writers and journalists in the periodic press there appear materials the authors of which try to provide ambitious, subjective assessments for historical events and individuals. On this level we consider nonobjective and unproven certain articles concerning the personality of the prominent political figure in the republic, our former First Secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, Usman Yusupov. In such articles by K. Ikramov, such as in the weekly *Moskovskiy novosti* (No 12, 1988), *Literaturnaya gazeta* (4 May 1988) and *Izvestiya* (18 May 1988), R. Pospelov in *Literaturnaya gazeta* (1 June 1988), S. Grigoryev in *Krokodil* (No 21, 1988), the authors have leveled against U. Yusupov a number of very serious but, in our view, completely unbased accusations and insulting attacks. We assert this as we knew U. Yusupov not hurriedly, like the authors of the mentioned articles, but personally out of many years of joint work in the 1930s through the 1950s in the Uzbekistan party organization.

Usman Yusupov was elected the first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee in September 1937 when F. Khodzhaev and A. Ikramov had become the victims of the mass repressions engulfing our country. Here he worked in this post until 1950, when he was appointed the USSR minister of cotton production.

All these years, U. Yusupov, in heading the republic party organization, was actively concerned with mobilizing the communists and all the republic workers to carry out the difficult peacetime and wartime tasks and showed himself to be an authentically popular leader, for he knew the needs of the people and believed in their inexhaustible creative forces.

The great organizing talents of U. Yusupov were particularly apparent during the period of the construction under his initiative of the Great Fergana Canal which

became a manifestation of a historically unprecedented labor feat by the Uzbek people. The canal stretching 270 km was built, as they say, in a single breath, over a period of 45 days and was of great importance for the development of the economy, particularly cotton raising, both in Uzbekistan as well as in fraternal Tajikistan.

During the years of the Great Patriotic War, the republic party organization under the leadership of U. Yusupov carried out enormous and diverse work to mobilize the economic and human resources to rebuff the enemy. Uzbekistan became a powerful arsenal for the front. Around 100 large industrial enterprises were evacuated here and they literally went into operation directly from the railroad cars and the front began receiving aircraft, mortars, shells and other military products. The republic party organization did a great deal for the uninterrupted supply of raw materials and manpower for the evacuated enterprises. All of this was largely an accomplishment of U. Yusupov.

The Uzbek people in a fraternal manner accepted over a million persons evacuated from the occupied oblasts of Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia, and over 200,000 children who have lost their parents were shown concern and attention in the children's homes and in thousands of Uzbek families. The republic established all conditions for the fruitful creative work of prominent scientists and cultural and artistic figures who moved into Uzbekistan and among whom were Aleksey Tolsky, Yakub Kolas, Anna Akhmatova, Nikolay Pogodin, Academicians B.D. Grekov, V.V. Struve and V.I. Picheta as well as many others. The Leningrad Conservatory set up its activities as well as portion of the divisions and institutes of the USSR and Belorussian Academies of Sciences, the Ukrainian Theater imeni Franko and the Moscow Theater imeni Leninskiy Komsomol.

Immediately after the victorious end of the war, the republic party organization began active work to further develop the Uzbek economy and provide aid in personnel and equipment to rebuilding the destroyed economy in the liberated areas. In all his subsequent positions, be it the posts of USSR minister of cotton production, the chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers, the director of the Bayaut Sovkhoz or as director of the Khalkabad Sovkhoz, U. Yusupov worked at full capacity.

Such was the career of the man on whom the authors of the above-mentioned articles have endeavored to rest responsibility for the mass Stalinist repressions in Uzbekistan in the dark years of 1937-1938 and as a result of which thousands of innocent people perished, including party, soviet workers, literary, art and cultural figures, including such prominent party and state leaders in the republic as A. Ikramov, F. Khodzhaev and many others. Moreover, the authors in these articles, particularly S. Grigoryev, depict U. Yusupov as an amoral person.

What can be said on this question?

As we have already pointed out above, such accusations are tendentious and unproven. Nevertheless, we feel it essential to set out our opinion in greater detail, for at present, under the conditions of the democratization of all aspects of social life and glasnost, the necessity for a critical but unprejudiced approach to disclosing both the strong and weak aspects of individuals who to one degree or another have been involved in the historical past, becomes all the more apparent. The return to the historical events and individuals of the 1920s through the 1950s is also predetermined by the need for a complete and objective restoration of the historical truth in large and small matters.

U. Yusupov was elected secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, as was already pointed out, in September 1937, when the sinister mechanism of mass repressions and the physical destruction of thousands upon thousands of completely innocent people and which had started up in 1934 in the form of "special meetings" and "troykas" headed in the republics by the republic communist party first secretaries upon the evil will of Stalin was already fully in action, absorbing constantly new victims, when within the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] prisons the necessary "confessions" had already been "gained" from the arrested leading workers of the republics about their supposed affiliation with bourgeois-nationalistic, rightist-Trotskyite and other anti-Soviet and antiparty organizations, when by the mass information and propaganda media and at assemblies and meetings, the communists and masses of people "in the aims of increasing revolutionary vigilance" were constantly persuaded that the party and the "glorious NKVD organs" with supposed nation-wide support were conducting a just struggle against the "spies and saboteurs," the "agents of imperialism" and the "traitors and counterrevolutionaries."

In this extremely complex situation of the reign of mass repressions, U. Yusupov, already as the first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee and the chairman of a "troyka," in recognizing that the avalanche of repressions was sweeping up innocent people, found the bravery in himself to send off letters to Stalin, Andreyev and Malenkov and backed up his viewpoint on the need for checking the NKVD bodies which saw the "enemies of the people" everywhere and in all things. Thus, in December 1938, that is, a little more than a year after his election as first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, U. Yusupov in a report to Stalin wrote: "In the work of the Uzbekistan NKVD bodies there are major shortcomings and distortions which are encouraged and implanted in every possible way by the enemies who have found positions in the NKVD bodies, particularly Leonov (the former deputy people's commissar) and Apresyan (the former people's commissar).

"The mass arrests were employed in many instances without sufficient evidence. In the people's commissariat and in the rayon NKVD bodies, a competition was

even announced for the largest number of arrested persons. Here the evidence of the persons arrested by them was employed for evaluating the activities of the NKVD workers. This helped to spread insufficiently justified arrests."

Furthermore, U. Yusupov stated that often the accusations were not backed up by any factual data and contained fabricated accusations.

In a letter to G.M. Malenkov, U. Yusupov wrote that "...for a significant number of arrested persons the investigatory bodies do not have any accusatory materials or grounds for carrying out the arrest" and that "considered as good Chekists were workers who arrested more of the completely innocent people." Analogous letters were sent off also to A.A. Andreyev.

In one of these it was pointed out that the former Uzbek Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs Leonov had been the initiator of disseminating provocations aimed at creating a situation of complete mistrust, excessive suspicion and lack of confidence in the ranks of the Uzbekistan party organization and that the republic party organization was taking every measure to decisively rebuff those who were endeavoring to drag it along this antiparty course and was preventing the leading bodies and all the organization as a whole from being diverted from the work of carrying out the regular economic tasks.

These are the main facts characterizing the political, state and social activities of U. Yusupov during the period of the 1930s through the 1950s.

But in saying all of this, we are far from the idea and intention of providing an idealized political portrait of U. Yusupov. Without any doubt, in his activities during that difficult and contradictory period of history there were many shortcomings, mistakes, omissions and incorrect actions which were in time given a proper assessment. In the given instance we are against unfounded, in no way backed-up subjective assessments and accusations leveled against U. Yusupov. Yes, Usman Yusupov had shortcomings and these must be mentioned. But they must be mentioned honestly, objectively and correctly. And not as has been done in the above-mentioned publications which are merely to blacken and run down. But this will not happen as the times are different now.

We consider it our civil and party duty to speak publicly on this question.

[Signatures] K. Avazmatov, Hero of Socialist Labor, recipient of special national pension; A. Toktabayev, Hero of Socialist Labor, recipient of special national pension; Kamil Yashen (Nugmanov), Hero of Socialist Labor and Uzbek people's writer; A. Alimov, Yu. Babadzhanov, A. Brodova, R. Gulamov, V. Dolenko, A. Ilyukhin, N. Mukhitdinov, B. Mirzabekov, N. Rizayev, G. Skotobogatov, Kh. Dzhalilov, A. Khamidov, T. Sadykov, M. Kamalov,

Ten Khay-Gyun—recipients of special national pensions; S. Akhundzhanov, lieutenant general (retired); V. Sirzhidinov, lieutenant general (retired); M. Mukhamedzhanov, academician of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences; S. Ishanurayeva, Tamara Khanum, Kh. Nasyrova—USSR people's artists; Uygun (Atakuziyev)—Uzbek people's writer; G. Rakhimova—Uzbek people's artist; R. Kariyev, Uzbek honored artist; B. Kaipov, D. Akramov, P. Sadymentko—recipients of special pensions; S. Korotkov—colonel (retired); M. Bakhabov—doctor of historical sciences, professor; F. Iskhakov—doctor of historical sciences; A. Urazayev—member of the USSR Writers' Union; Kh. Salakhudinov, candidate of historical sciences.

Readers Support Positive Assessment

18300115a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
25 Oct 88 p 3

[Letters to the editor on the question of the reputation of Usman Yusupov]

[Text] **His Main Trait—Honesty** by Z. Izmaylova, CPSU member since 1931, Bukhara

Usman Yusupov took over the leadership of the republic party organization during the most difficult years of our history. In assessing this vivid personality the evidence of eyewitnesses is indispensable. There are few remaining who knew him from joint work and those who did not know him and for those who know the era from the words of others it is easier to organize their arguments according to the scheme: since Yusupov came to power in 1937 it means he participated in the repressions of the party and soviet workers in Uzbekistan. However, such a primitive approach is harmful.

Something else is also known: Usman Yusupov openly expressed to the nation's leaders his principled position on what was happening in the republic. It was a position that differed fundamentally from the policies pursued by Stalin and his toadies. In order to write openly in this manner, that is, honestly, with an understanding of the situation and with pain, it is not enough to have mere personal courage, there must also be a profound faith in people and in the rightness of the cause.

At the same time, Usman Yusupov, as we knew him, was primarily a man of action. His words never differed from his deeds. And if he felt that arbitrariness or illegality was occurring, he resisted this. When he came to our oblast, he began his familiarization with the affairs of the party organization, with the situation on the spot not at the oblast center, but rather in meeting with the peasants and visited the remote villages and the inferior party cells. And only having personally obtained a sufficient amount of information did he assemble us, the party aktiv, and along with us seek out ways for resolving the most difficult tasks of that period.

And he never tried to be omniscient and did not throw his weight around. On the contrary, without fail he emphasized tactfully that he had come from the simple people and remained with them.

The life of the people and their aspirations he knew completely while the questions requiring profound knowledge he entrusted to specialists. On the other hand, his class touch never let him down. Dogmatism was organically alien to him. I recall a meeting when we, the young lecturers, were brought together at the Central Committee. "Don't rush forward, communism is not so close as many think," he said. "Organize your work drawing on life and our ideology should be comprehensible to the peasant. Be able to explain to him that the only way to communism lies through good work. When instead of one cow he will have two and hot cakes to eat then he will understand what is a step toward communism."

He was very simple. It did not bother him to consult with anyone. We, the old party workers, see today that the sprouts of many of the current negative phenomena took root then. In one of my meetings with Usman Yusupov I described how in Gizhduvan at the Raykomburo I had been accused of opportunism. As the deputy chief of the political section of the Bukhara Oblast Agricultural Department, I had categorically argued against an "early" report to superiors on the completion of planting.

"Did you explain what is opportunism and what is deception of the party?"

"I don't know how it got through, but the report did not go off to the oblast."

Of course, if one approached an assessment of the personality of a Central Committee first secretary from the 1930s and 1940s with the standards of today, Usman Yusupov would lack a great deal. But he had one main thing—honesty, loyalty to the party and complete dedication to its cause. And thus he will remain in our memory forever.

Why Do We Praise Him? by A. Grigoryants, recipient of a special republic pension

The letter of veterans "The Criterion of Glasnost Is Truth" published in *Pravda Vostoka* on 16 October 1988 from realistic positions provided an objective answer to the unproven statements by certain authors on the activities of the former First Secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee U. Yusupov.

I am in full agreement with the opinion, the critical analysis and the conclusions of the comrades. In 1947-1950, when as a young party worker, I repeatedly met with U. Yusupov. I met him later at the Bayaut Sovkhoz. And each time I saw before me a charming man and a leader of great scale. He was able to establish a business-like, creative atmosphere and worked so that there was no gap between word and deed. For Usman Yusupov,

the chief criterion for a worker was dedication to the ideas of the party, competence, industriousness and honesty. In talking on various questions, he never pressured the other person but rather endeavored using concrete facts to convince him of the correctness of his ideas and proposals. In him, you could feel a simplicity, a benevolence and accessibility. He was truly the people's tribune. He had profound faith in the people and was able to inspire and lead them to great undertakings.

At the same time, inherent to U. Yusupov was great demandingness and implacability against the slightest manifestations of a lack of discipline and slipshod work. He loved order in everything. I would like to say particularly about one character trait of his: he was a true internationalist and did a great deal to establish truly socialist international relations between people. And again we valued him for his high party loyalty, principledness, honesty and humanity.

I Will Put My Signature, by D. Ishbekov, CPS member since 1940, war veteran and recipient of special republic pension from Samarkand

The article "The Criterion of Glasnost Is the Truth" shook me to the depths of my soul. I also have read several of the mentioned articles and was struck by the ease at which the good name of a person can be undone. Why is this being done? If I did not know Usman Yusupov personally, and I believed the article, I would form a monstrous false impression of the man. There are 35 signatures to the article. Count mine the 36th.

As the chairman of the Kattakurgan Gorispolkom, and later as the first secretary of the party gorkom, I met Usman Yusupov many times. And just not just anywhere but at a hot point, the construction of the Kattakurgan Reservoir. A vitally important project which would determine irrigated farming in Samarkand and Bukhara Oblasts. At that time, the construction project had been called a nationwide help project. And in fact it was nationwide bringing together tens of thousands of people engaged in inspired shock work. And the first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee was at the very heart of the project. Regardless of his enormous workload, Usman Yusupov once or twice a month visited the project without fail. And he called by telephone to the staff which was located at the gorkom almost every day.

This was a personality. A man written large. Energetic, temperamental, but at the same time not off-hand and weighing all his actions. He had a broad range of interests and delved into all spheres of activity. I will give just one example which clearly characterizes Yusupov as a man.

The main tools at the construction project were a shovel and hoe. By evening the people were so tired that they literally collapsed. Two of them fell asleep right on the ties between the rails. During those years a railroad spur

was built to the reservoir for delivering freight. During the night the engineer did not notice the sleeping men and a tragedy occurred.

Usman Yusupov ordered that protection be given to the families of the dead men, that they find out what they needed and provide help. And he himself checked how his instructions were carried out.

He was constantly in the thick of the masses. The people knew him not from words or portraits. They knew and loved him. He had merely to appear at the site and the people livened up and tried to work better. But not out of fear, although I would point out that he was very demanding.

Today when they say that Usman Yusupov was not this or not that, I not only cannot agree as I become ashamed for the man who devoted all his life to serving the people. These are not merely loud words, but this is how it was in fact.

I would like to add the following. In the same issue of *Pravda Vostoka* simultaneously with the article by the veterans the column was published "Confronting One's Conscience." This small article closely linked to the letter by the veterans raises problems of great political importance. It was well put: "Be completely objective, honest and just. And without fail, decent. To history and to one's conscience." We must act in accord with this. In all things and always.

From the Editors: Many kind letters have been received about Usman Yusupov. Among them are those from Hero of Socialist Labor A. Abzalova, the recipient of the national special pension A. Aliev and other honored figures in the republic.

Bureaucracy Criticized for Failure To Update 'New' History Textbook

18300063 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 7 Sep 88 p 2

[Letter from electrician Pavel Gershman: "Specter of the Past from 1988"]

[Text] I hold in my hands a gift for the editors of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. The gift is called "Textbook of the History of the USSR" (VSh Publishing House, Moscow, 1988).

The gift has the status of an educational publication. "Educational history," so to speak. Dear comrades, read this history text, it is especially interesting where the development of the USSR from 1928 through 1986 is described. You will find out much that is interesting for yourself. You will find out that "an anti-Soviet inclined segment of bourgeois specialists was creating saboteur organizations... for example, in the coal industry of the Donbass in 1928 (SHAKHTINSKOYE DELO)."

You will find out that "right-wing opportunists headed by Bukharin came out against the policy of an offensive against the kulaks, propagating the theory of dampening the class struggle."

You will read that "the political departments aided in purging the kolkhozes of hostile elements." You will find out that, according to the USSR Constitution of 1936, the inviolability of the individual, housing, confidentiality in correspondence, democratic freedoms and the joining of political and public organizations were granted and guaranteed.

You will understand that before the war, "much attention was devoted to party political work in the armed forces," but you will not find any hint of the fact that almost the entire command corps of the Red Army was annihilated before the war. And only in reviewing the 20th CPSU Congress will you find out that "thousands of party, Soviet, economic and military workers" were, it turns out, repressed and later rehabilitated (see page 588).

It is curious that pages 586 and 587 have a few words on the personality cult, but without the name of that personality (!).

Of particular interest is a comparison of the chapters "Soviet Society in the 1970s" and "The USSR in a Sharp Turnaround." In the former: "Over the course of 1971-75, measures were consistently implemented aimed at growth in production" (page 662); "the industry of the union and autonomous republics was developing successfully" (page 663); and, "scientific and technical revolution was developing successfully" (page 664).

And suddenly, in the latter: the 27th Congress "devoted much attention to analyzing the causes for the shortcomings and omissions that appeared in the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s in the economic, social and spiritual life of society. These shortcomings were expressed in a decline in the growth rates of the economy and labor productivity, a slowdown in scientific and technical progress and a strengthening of disproportions in the economy" (pages 699-700).

Respectfully yours,

Pavel Gershman, electrician.

We asked the editor-in-chief of the Vyshaya Shkola Publishing House, A.M. Trubitsin, to comment on the circumstances of the appearance of this textbook for those entering higher educational institutions. Having become acquainted with the text of the letter and acknowledging that in places the text really "does not correspond to the spirit of the times," Aleksandr Mikhaylovich advanced his arguments as explanations:

"First of all, the 'Textbook of the History of the USSR' came out in 1987 (!). And this year we have just finished printing a run of 100,000 copies, since these texts enjoy increased demand among matriculants."

"That is the misfortune, that they are using it. Or do you feel otherwise?"

"Understand that this book must be approached DIALECTICALLY and HISTORICALLY. Now such a publication doubtless could not appear..."

"But the rest of the run has come out nonetheless?"

"The whole point is that the contents of textbooks must conform fully to the letter and spirit of the history curriculum approved by the USSR State Committee for Popular Education."

"That is, the publishing house does not answer for the product that propagates ideas of a 'short course' among the young—point to the state committee and higher. Is that how it goes?"

"Yes, the publishing house is not responsible. For us, this textbook is a train departed."

"That is, sign off and good riddance?"

"Understand, we are now worried about what to do for the upcoming year. We are in a most absurd situation: we must publish new textbooks on the history of the USSR, on party history, and we don't know when we will get them..."

"Your publishing house has converted to economic accountability. But there is no inherent publishing policy here, it turns out?"

"Understand, one cannot rewrite history at once, destroying stereotypes that have taken shape over decades. We need decisions by party organs corresponding to the conclusions of the rehabilitation commission for a restructuring of our work... We are trying to get oriented in today's complex situation. We are now preparing in rush mode the publication of a book that will undoubtedly become a bestseller—"Pages in CPSU History"—revealing much that is new in the history of intra-party struggle, collectivization, telling about Rykov, Bukharin, Kamenev, Stalin..."

All right then, we'll await the bestseller. But until then we are considering the 1987-88 model of the "Textbook of the History of the USSR." It proves to be a paltry, false and fork-tongued offspring of bureaucratic science, a bureaucratic educational system and bureaucratic publishing running to 650 grams. This means that about 150 tons of paper were stolen from the people for its total print run. The very paper that there is "not enough of" for the limited papers and journals writing the truth about history.

Greater State Support of Islamic Community's Needs Backed

18300093 *Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA*
in Russian 30 Sep 88 p 3

[Article by A. Metkin, APN commentator: "Restructuring and Believers"]

[Text] During the first years of Soviet rule, Anatoliy Lunacharskiy, one of the organizers of the Soviet educational system, said that religion is like a nail—the harder you beat it on the head, the deeper it goes into the board. The crude kulak method never brought anything except harm. This could be observed during the period of the personality cult of Stalin and during the years of stagnation. Closed mosques and restrictions on the rights of believers led to a discreditation of socialism's democratic standards, of the constitution, the law, and all of society as a whole. For example, former Central Committee secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Abdullayev issued oral instructions to the effect that as little religious ceremony as possible be conducted in the mosques. This led to a reduction in the number of wedding ceremonies, circumcisions and funerals in officially registered mosques. But at the same time, believers were forced to turn to unregistered clergymen, religiously ill-prepared. In addition, such instructions facilitated growth in the network of unregistered mosques.

Conflicts arose as a result of the rash actions of local authorities and tension was induced in relations with believers reacting painfully to the injustice shown them. At times they had to complain to central agencies and send representatives as delegates to the capital. Last year alone more than 3000 complaints were received at the Council on Religious Affairs from believers of all religions represented in the Soviet Union.

These and other facts as well as the change today in the state's attitude towards religion, Islam in particular, comprised the subject of discussion by employees of the Council on Religious Affairs, representatives of the spiritual administrations of USSR Muslims, imams of mosques and parishioners.

The democratization of Soviet society underway in the USSR could not help but affect the situation of believers. New mosques are presently opening up in Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, Northern Caucasus and Volga region. For a long time there was no mosque in Ashkhabad, the capital of the Turkmen SSR. Now, this year, the longstanding request of believers to register a religious association has been satisfied. A plot of land is being allocated and construction of a mosque will begin in the near future.

Increased numbers of mosques also requires a sufficient number of well trained clergymen. In this regard, increased numbers of students are being admitted into Islamic training institutions—the Mir-Arab medrese in Bukhara and the Institute imeni Imam Al-Bukhari in

Tashkent. A new student building and dormitory are being built in Bukhara. Students at the Muslim institute will also soon get a new dormitory.

The magazine MUSLIMS OF THE SOVIET EAST, published in Tashkent, serves as the voice of Muslims living in the USSR and regularly publishes sermons and theological articles. Appearing now on its pages is more material on the lives of Muslims, on their communities and the directors of their mosques. It must be noted that Muslim religious leaders are afforded space for their material in state publications as well. Readers appreciated the interesting material written by Shaykh Ul-Islam Allahshukur Pashe-zade, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Transcaucasus Muslims; Mufti Talgat Tadzhuiddin, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims in the European USSR and Siberia; and Mufti Shamsuddin Babakhan, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Among other publications, a collection of selected articles and speeches of Mufti Talgat Tadzhuiddin is being prepared in conjunction with the 200th anniversary of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims in the European USSR and Siberia, which will be commemorated next year.

The restructuring of the entire legal system currently underway in the Soviet Union will also affect legislation on cults. But here we must address not a breakup of the legal mechanism which regulates relations between the state and religion, but a strengthening of it, bringing it into conformity with the requirements of our time. Soviet legislation provides all the necessary conditions for the realization of constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience, including the freedom of believers to perform religious ceremonies. The problem lies elsewhere—in the fact that in practice, as mentioned earlier, responsible officials sometimes violated Soviet law and acted according to canons of the period of stagnation.

The process of improving legislation must include a reflection of those aspects of state policy on religion which are clearly manifest in today's conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost. It is planned that the new legislation will grant religious associations the legal rights of an individual, which they have not had. In this manner, religious associations will enjoy the same rights social organizations possess.

The new law is being drafted and will be published for nationwide public discussion by believers and non-believers alike.

Thanks to restructuring, the moral climate in the country has changed a great deal, including with regard to the attitude of the state towards religion. Anniversary celebrations dedicated to the 1000th anniversary of the Christianization of Russia and preparations for the coming celebration of the 200th anniversary of the formation of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the European USSR and Siberia attest to this.

"A restoration of Leninist standards for relations between the state and religious organizations is underway," Mufti Talgat Tadzhuiddin believes. "This is instilling confidence in the future."

M. S. Gorbachev confirmed at the 19th Party Conference that there is no basis "for a disrespectful attitude

towards the spiritual world of people who are believers, and less still for the application of any kind of administrative pressure whatsoever to assert materialistic views." In restoring the confidence of believers in the state, the soviets and the party, the restructuring movement will be reinforced by the efforts of many millions of people, followers of various religions, to include Islam.

Russian Cultural Association Created in Moscow
18300223 Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA
in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by V. Surkova, Member of the Press Section of the Russian Center: "Russian Center Begins to Operate"]

[Text] Societies and cultural centers have been established in Moscow for Ukrainians, Armenians, Georgians, Jews, and Tatars. It is natural that a Russian association too should arise in our city, the capital of the USSR.

"The idea was born 10 years ago," says the director of the center and member of the USSR Writers' Union, T. Ponomarev. "People in the creative professions, members of the intelligentsia, and workers gathered in libraries, museums, and houses of culture to discuss revitalizing relics of the past, problems of ecology, and trends in Russian art. We worked to clean up the grounds of deserted monasteries and temples, participated in discussion concerning returning names of historical significance to our streets, held literary and musical evenings, including ones devoted to Shalyapin, were responsible for the monument to Sergey Radonezhsko, and the Club imeni Kosarev at the Palace of Youth. Much else was accomplished due to the initiative of this group. Thus, in the beginning was not the word, but the deed, since the organizational structure was added later.

In the center's charter it says that members may be inhabitants of Moscow wishing to participate in the revitalization of the culture of the Russian peoples and help state and public organizations accomplish this, strengthen friendship among the peoples of our country, and improve international relations. Among the center's goals are maintenance of and propaganda for the best folk traditions of ethics and morality, education of young people in this spirit, environmental conservation, and many others.

There already are concrete accomplishments to the center's credit—the organization of an unofficial Russian academy (of all the Union republics, only the RSFSR does not have its own Academy of Sciences), the founding of a Russian theater that will put on productions concerning Russian history and historical figures and the life of the people during various historical periods and in our day. We intend to do everything possible to support folk crafts, we are establishing a cooperative salon that will sell, wonder of wonders, the almost forgotten wares created by the master craftsmen and craftswomen of our Fatherland. We hope that there soon will be in operation, under our sponsorship, a restaurant and cafe serving Russian cuisine, various amateur circles, and clubs in which folk sports—gorodki, lapta and others—will be revived.

In the future the center will undertake efforts to restore relics of the past and the historical names of Moscow's streets and Russian cities, and intends to participate in naming new metro stations. And how could the city

planning problems of the new Moscow, in which one does not sense a single hint of our universally appreciated Russian architecture, not be worthy of the attention of the community?

Is it often that one is able to see in our city a beautiful Russian landscape, or old parks in the appropriate state? We hope that we will be able to deal with these and many other problems of our city. After all, our center already has seven functioning departments: scientific, creative intelligentsia, young trends, interethnic relations, and others.

Each of them has extensive plans: supporting "Afghan" veterans, ties with the army, establishment of contacts with associations of Muscovites of other ethnic groups, with whom we hope to hold joint evenings and holidays and—around the Russian samovar—discussions of our most pressing problems. We hope to be able to support young artists, cinematographers, musicians, and writers. Our long-term plans include the publication of our own literary, journalistic, and educational newspaper.

Although the center is just now being organized, its members already include scholars, writers, workers, engineers, and teachers.

It is of no little importance that our center will operate on the basis of principles of self-financing and total cost accounting. We have already received interesting proposals from a number of cooperatives, and from cooperative workshops in the folk arts.

Today there will be a meeting of the coordination group, during which we intend to plan concrete work projects. We will also discuss the issue of finding a location for the center. Although we see our center as an association branching out into various corners of the city, we need a single house of Russian culture, where anyone can come and chat, share his concerns or dreams, and learn that the center is interested in him and how he may be useful to us.

But for the time being we, unfortunately, cannot provide an exact address for our center. We hope that in the near future such an address will be available and then we will be able to say "Welcome!" to everyone.

Film Union Plenum Held on Republic, National Cinema

Report on Keynote Speech
18000292 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 26 Nov 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "To Act With Common Cause!" Excerpts from speech presented by R.I. Ibragimbekov, secretary of the USSR Union of Cinematographers governing board, at its 5th Plenum]

[Text] All theories of social planning, beginning with utopias, are divided into two types. For some the primary goal is how to live better, and for others—how to

live properly. After 2 1/2 years spent on planning the future of cinematography, there is an apparent danger of inventing a third type of reorganization of life: not how it was, not how it is better, and not how it should be, but rather how it will turn out.

Such a danger is quite real, although the list of things which have been done in the 2 1/2 years since the 5th Congress of Cinematographers is impressive and fits into an outline of a rather well-structured system of social-state cinema having cost-accounting principles of organization of film production and rental.

Yet the many months which the project outline for our reorganization has spent wandering around offices of high institutions, as well as the transition of state control of the republic cinema to the ministries of culture, have placed us in the position of a person who has lifted his foot and cannot put it back down on the ground.

New difficulties have also arisen during this artificially drawn-out transitional period. Among other problems there has been an unexpected exacerbation in the so-called "national" problem, which latently existed before.

The speaker briefly characterized the situation in which our society finds itself in embarking on the path of democratization of its principles. Life has shown that the desire to augment and develop the system of democratic transformations in society has awakened the initiative from below in various regions of the country. This is an initiative which sometimes expresses itself in undemocratic forms.

It is heartening that in those cases when the national movement does not bear an extremist character and is realized by legally formulated methods, the struggle for national and regional interests finds gradual understanding on the part of the state. Here it is very important that in fighting for cost accounting in their republic, the Estonians, for example, understand that neither Estonia nor any other single republic will be able to become an island of cost accounting in the midst of non-cost accounting elements. Also, the solution to many republic problems today lies beyond the boundaries of the republics, and that for their own good the people of these republics must live more actively by all-union interests...

Today, the speaker stressed, we speak of returning our country to the path of the Leninist concept of state construction, which was reflected most clearly in Lenin's article entitled "On the Question of Nationalities, or on 'Autonomization'." This article, as we know, was dictated in December of 1922 after the "Letter to the Congress" and is part of a set of articles comprising Lenin's "Political Testament". Vladimir Ilyich stresses two ideas in this article: the sovereignty of each of the republics comprising the Union or federation, and the need for understanding the uniqueness of the socio-economic and cultural conditions in each republic in order to select the pace, methods, and forms of state construction in it.

Furthermore, the speaker went on to the specific problems of cinematography. In the 20's, he recalled, when the Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijan, and Uzbek Soviet cinemas were formed, the similarities and differences of the screen arts of the various nations were quite rapidly defined. Turning to their people's past and present, the artists of the multi-national Soviet film created artistic works which differed significantly from each other in a problem-thematic and aesthetic sense.

By the late 20's and in the 30's the gradual usurping of power by Stalin, which was expressed most clearly in repressions against the peasants and other social strata and groups, had an effect not only on social practice, but also on the sphere of culture, including cinema.

The authoritarian regime was expressed in the unification of art. This was accompanied by a number of actions in the sphere of art itself. Specifically, R. Ibragimbekov noted the dogma of Stalinist aesthetics: national in form, socialist in content. This Stalinist formula presupposed the standardization of content. The national became the prerogative of form, forcefully isolated from content, and took on a strictly external, ornamental character. In the cinema, with its photographically fixing nature, the "national" was understood as the specificity of physiognomic type, costume, exteriors and interiors, forms of everyday life and labor.

At the same time it was evident that culture, art and cinema are national to the degree that they reflect the social and historical experience of the people, i.e., the national is deeply ingrained in the content and is not merely a formal property.

The unification of the cinema in the 30's took place in a multi-stratal way. First of all we must note such a phenomenon as the general introduction of the image of Stalin into cinema. The central idea of the "Short Course of the VKP(b)" on intensifying the class struggle in the country, which had practically built socialism, was illustrated by variants of the same plot of searching out an enemy who was masked under the guise of an honest laborer in the kolkhoz or at an enterprise.

The multi-national Soviet cinema in the 30's serves as clear proof of the fact that the real state of screen art (unlike literature, which may work "by order") depends directly on the existing conditions.

Formally, the number of Soviet national cinemas increased in the 30's. To those already mentioned there was added the Tajik, Turkmen, and Kazakh cinemas. In fact, however, the multi-national Soviet cinema was subjected to standardization, and instead of a stereoscopic, multi-colored picture of the cinema which had begun to form in the 20's there emerged a simplified model which fully reflected the notions of the administrative-political leadership regarding the ideal structure of social life. Such a situation was expressed not only in

the contentual plane, but also in the organizational arrangement of the multi-national cinema, which has largely been retained to the present day.

It is also important to note the following circumstance. While in the 20's there were films made about the life of the Udmurts, Mari, Kalmyks, Bashkirs, Tatars, Volga Germans, people of the North Caucasus, Siberia, the North and the Far East (some of these peoples had their own film studios), beginning with the 30's the heroes of Soviet films became representatives only of those nationalities after which republics were named. With few exceptions, this situation has been retained even in our time and requires not only critical interpretation, but also immediate correction.

The speaker used specific historical examples to demonstrate the direct dependence of the development of national cinema on the level of democracy of society in the various periods of the country's life.

Considering the sad experience of democratization in the 60's which was not fully realized, the speaker said, one comes to the conclusion that there is a need for a successive, scientifically substantiated program of current democratization with consideration for the fact that the fervent formulation of national self-awareness is taking place before our very eyes. Sometimes it is expressed through informal associations, whose extreme manifestations are nationalism and chauvenism. Evidently, in order to work out a productive program of action which guarantees the development of democracy, it is necessary to overcome these manifestations.

In the sphere of cinema it is you and I who will have to do this, and great hopes in this regard are being pinned on our plenum. As our cornerstone we must use the irrefutable thesis that national cinema art represents a great value, that it serves the cause of self-awareness and self-expression of the people and strengthens their sense of dignity.

In solving the practical problems of cinematographic practice, we must remember that the national picture of the world is not the whim of the artist and not a national adornment of art, but the primary means of achieving the artistic truth on the screen. Without retaining its national uniqueness, the cinema cannot correspond to its purpose of being a means of self-awareness of society.

For 2 1/2 years since the 5th Congress, our union, its secretariat and governing board, implementing the decisions of the congress in conjunction with the USSR Goskino has been engaged in the development of a new system of film production and rental. This system, known as the "base model", provides for the public-state management of cinema—an independent cost-accounting sector of the national economy—and proceeds from the principle of creative independence of studios of a new type, separate from film factories.

What do we have as a result for the present day? A certain number of studios or associations managed by elected governing boards but devoid of economic independence, and a certain number of Goskino directives which give filming groups certain, though still very limited, freedom of initiative. This is all we have been able to realize. Recently the union and Goskino have introduced corrections into the program for reorganization of cinema—in order to bring it into line with those socio-economic changes which have taken place in the country during the time since its development.

We maintained that cinema must become an independent sector of the national economy. However, the decision was made to hand the republic cinemas over to management by the ministries of culture, and now the cinema management structures which took years to create are being threatened.

We asked that the republic goskino be reorganized into state artistic production associations (based on the corresponding resolution of the Central Committee and Council of Ministers) in order to reduce the staff of the administrative apparatus and to change it over to cost accounting principles of operation. In response, with the same motivation we were given yet another level of management, and now instead of three-level management of the cinema we have four levels, since the chief of the cinema governing board is subordinate to the management of the Ministry of Culture.

For these past 2 1/2 years, we have coexisted with the USSR Goskino in the sense that in our unity and opposition we have achieved an unquestionable psychological restructuring in the consciousness of the apparatus (especially here, in Moscow) towards a greater acceptance of public influence. How will the cinema governing boards of the republic ministries of culture correlate with the USSR Goskino? Who will bear the responsibility for the material development of the national cinemas, whose base and technical equipment lag decades behind the world level? These and many other questions demand an immediate answer and appropriate decisions with our participation, and with the right to loudly proclaim that which seems important and necessary to cinematographers.

One the other hand, we must admit that both the Union of Cinematographers and the USSR Goskino, in their anticipation of permission for a comprehensive, all-encompassing solution to the entire circle of our problems presented in the base model, have committed a serious tactical error by not fully utilizing the capacities which the state gave us when it adopted laws which seemingly lie outside the cinematographic sphere. The Law on the Socialist Enterprise, the Law on Cooperatives, and an entire series of others have created real prerequisites for solving many of our problems. Such an organizational-economic form as the rental contract, for example, with certain adaptation to our cinematographic

conditions may bring film groups to a level of independence which would make it possible for them to resolve organizational, financial and other questions which for years we have not been able to "push through" in the Minfin [Ministry of Finance] and other departments.

The transfer of national cinemas to the management of the republic ministries, continued the speaker, complicates the resolution of a question which has fundamental importance for the very existence of national cinemas. The transition of the film studios to the cost-accounting principle of activity does not mean that the solution of questions of financing national cinemas must fully rest on the shoulders of cinematographers.

The development of film art as part of national culture and the active utilization of its potential for the spiritual enrichment of the people is the task of all the people. Therefore, the means for resolving questions of technical equipment of movie studios, capital investments for construction, etc., must be obtained not only from the income received from the film viewer, but also from the public consumption funds. We must see that the monies from these funds are made available to national film studios in the form of standard payments from the republic state budget. This would allow us to free ourselves from the very concepts of "subsidy" and "planned loss", providing reality and effectiveness of cost accounting in cinema. Cost accounting is a method of economic management, and budget allocations in the form of standard deductions certainly do not contradict it if they have a target purpose. Here, considering the extremely low level of the material-technical base of national film studios, we must focus the attention of the republic governing boards on the need for a planned approach to the solution of this problem on the basis of a special program for strengthening the material base of the national film studios. The USSR Goskino should also provide for the creation of a program for development of national cinemas in the next few years.

Our union, noted R. Ibragimbekov, which was created in the early 60's, in its organizational structure reflects the general principles of departmental organization prevalent at that time. We created the same kind of centralized system of management as in other artistic unions, with the only difference being that the union secretariat and its apparatus, along with all-union matters, is also engaged in Moscow and Russian problems, since the organizations which should deal with them were not created at the appropriate time. Today it is difficult to determine what motivated the organizational committee which deprived the Russian cinematographers of a creative union. However, the volume of work performed by the Union of Cinematographers secretariat, which has increased several times over since the 5th Congress, the need for more effective and continued public influence on the creative processes in cinematography, as well as the all-state principle of democratization of the management structures demand the restoration of historical fairness. The time is right for creation of a Russian Cinematographer's Union.

Not only the cinematographers of the RSFSR, but also those of other republics have an interest in this. The Union of Cinematographers governing board, its secretariat and its apparatus must be able to concentrate their efforts on solving all-union problems.

On the other hand, the need is apparent for granting greater rights, complete independence and sovereignty to the republic cinematography unions. This need is dictated also by the practical application of the work of the Union of Cinematographers itself, as well as by the broader tendencies of social development on a country-wide scale.

The film community of our country has always been international not only in make-up, but also in character of internal relations.

Our fraternity exists not just in words, but is confirmed by tens and hundreds of examples of mutual respect, love and support in difficult moments. It is specifically for this reason that one of the first things we must review is the system of interrelations within our CU [cinematographers' union]. We must reorganize its structure in the spirit of progressive tendencies of social development.

We must make it so that the principle of proportional and equal representation of all the republic unions will be maintained at all levels of authority (congress, governing board, secretariat, etc.). The representatives of the national cinemas must be organically included into all spheres and levels of the new structure of the Union of Cinematographers.

Furthermore, the speaker formulated the most significant specific proposals. Here are some of them which are associated with a change in the structure, make-up, regimen and democratic procedures in the activity of the cinema union.

In order to achieve equal participation in the work of governing all republic unions, the governing board membership must include an equal number of representatives from each republic. The principles of nomination and term of office (from 1 to 5 years) of the governing board members shall be at the discretion of the nominating republic unions. Between plenums, the permanent working organ of the Union of Cinematographers governing board will be, as before, the secretariat. However, cardinal changes are proposed in the structure of the secretariat in the context of the process of federalization of the union. The first secretary will be elected from among several candidates not by the governing board, but by secret ballot at the congress. The secretariat includes one representative from each national cinema (principles of election and recall of its representative are at the discretion of the republics). The secretariat also includes secretaries on specific directions of activity (for example, on international relations, performance films, television films, etc.), who are elected upon nomination by the first

secretary at the first CU governing board meeting following the congress. The secretariat, relying on the quantitative predominance of republic representatives (there will necessarily be fewer secretaries on specific directions of activity), guarantees the adoption of decisions which reflect the collective point of view of all members of the film federation.

The sovereignty of the republic unions should not deprive the rank-and-file cinematographer of the right to seek the support of his colleagues in those cases when he believes the actions of the republic CU organs to be unfair. The practical work of our union gives many examples of how dramatically the fate of films and creators has been formed in the republics, when only the support of the "central" union brought the conflict to a successful solution.

Up until the present day, the right of creating new film studios in our countries belongs to the USSR Council of Ministers. Even the republic governing board does not have such a prerogative. The outline of the base model presents the question of granting such a right to the USSR Goskino as a great achievement in the process of decentralization. Today this principle, which even a year ago was considered brave, is clearly outdated. Every people must decide for themselves whether or not they should have a national cinema.

In this connection we must pose the question of the multiplicity of possibilities for the inception of national cinemas, as well as the presentation of the right to create film studios (with a base or without it) to the Soviets of People's Deputies and all the state and public organizations having the means and capacity to do so.

In conclusion, R. Ibragimbekov said: it is as though we, who for years have been deprived of our fair share of freedom and independence, who for decades have been forced to drink from the common trough in spite of different capacities and diligence, closely bound to each other by the iron embraces of centralism, tired of mass movements and the common quarters built on falsely understood equality, in our hurry to defend freedom, independence, democratization, decentralization and pluralism with the fervor of political neophytes, might destroy that which will later be very difficult to restore—our professional unity and our relations which have been preserved in spite of everything. And, in spite of everything, we are not indifferent to them.

Nevertheless, if we achieve our goal—to live and create freely, without forcing ourselves to lie and receiving for our labor that which is due—then the guarantor of this achievement will be one thing: the existence of our multi-national cinematographic fraternity. I am convinced that we have no other means of achieving our end but to hold together and act with common cause.

Discussion on Regional Issues

18000292 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 26 Nov 88 pp 3-4

[Article by G. Simanovich and P. Smirnov: "Independence and Cooperation". First paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The discussion of the speech touched upon many problems. Let us deal with several of them which, in our opinion, are most significant.

We—Ourselves...

"One can always find such an Eskimo who will work out a set of instructions for a Congo dweller on how he should act in the heat".

This euphorism of the well-known Polish humorist Stanislaw Yezhi Lets was presented by another rather well-known Georgian film producer, E. Shengelaya. It turned out to be quite apropos in the discussion about the formulated and, alas, far from always normal, relations of national cinemas with the "center". The absurdity that such advice may sometimes reach was illustrated in the speech of his colleague from Armenia, film critic M. Stamboltsyan. According to him, in its 65 years of existence Armenian cinema has made only three historical films. One of them was devoted to the capture of Yerevan fortress by the troops of General Pakkevich. In the second film, whose action takes place 100 years before this, at the end a Russian detachment comes to the rescue of General Mkhitar. This ending, tacked on with white threads to the screening of the well-known Armenian novel by S. Khanzadyan, was necessary, it turns out, as a pass to get the film screened. And neither those who thought of this nor those who accepted the film were interested in the fact that in those far-off times there was no such thing as a helicopter troop landing. Yet the Russian troops could not have gotten to this geographical point by any other means at that time. The institutions who accepted the film believed that the Armenian people and the film could be saved only in this way, even if it contradicted history, geography, and common sense. Such "editing" largely facilitated the situation whereby the cinematographers of the union republics themselves began to depart from the real history of their people and from the acute social problems of current times.

Film critic L. Mamatova spoke about this alarming tendency at the plenum. Let us take Tajikistan, for example. The milk of the breastfeeding mother contains defoliants. There is a high infant mortality rate and a low standard of living. Yet on the screen we see the supposedly artistic film "Girls From Sogdiana", where the heroine resolves the "tormenting" problem of whether to take up swim. ng or field hockey. And the countless film shekherezades!...

What do operative stereotypes of petlyurovtsy and makhnovtsy and the superman-heroes in leather jackets in many of the films of Ukrainian cinematographers have to do with real history and the tragedies of the civil war? And how is the endless galloping and shooting over the steppes and dunes related to the complex history of the formation of Soviet power in Central Asia, which is so full of dramatism? And, with very rare exceptions, is the far from synonymous post-war period in the life of the Baltic republics depicted in full measure on the screen?

The following is taken from a report of attendance at films produced by republic studios, as presented to the plenum participants: "In recent years, Estonian film attendance has been the lowest (0.01 times per person), followed by the Moldavians (0.04) and the Kirghiz (0.05). The interest in films has also declined among Armenians (0.06)".

Concern about this resounded in the speeches of practically all the plenum participants. Among them there were also representatives of our country's so-called minor nationalities. However, we are in full agreement with the remark of one of the participants.

There Are No Minor Peoples!

A. Romanov, a film producer from Yakutiya, reminded us of this. Each of these peoples has their own inimitable, remarkably interesting and distinctive culture, history, rich folklore and organized domestic order. We have already read and heard much about the consumerist attitude of the ministries and departments toward the natural riches of these regions. However, the disregard for the spiritual life of the people and their culture is no less dangerous. There are fictional and documentary films about the life of these peoples. However, for the most part they do not reflect the complexities and problems of their everyday existence. A. Romanov proposed the development of a creative association of minor peoples of the North under the USSR Goskino and located in the capital of the YaASSR—the city of Yakutsk.

However, creative cadres are needed for this, as well as a material-technical base, which does not exist either in the North or in Chuvashia, Mordovia, Bashkiria, and Tataria. Can cinema arise there tomorrow? Can we hope that as soon as the right is granted—they will develop their own film culture and their own cinema?

The producer from Sverdlovsk, B. Khalzanov, was correct in saying: Here we must solve one task common to all, to concentrate our efforts, for example, on one of the regional studios. However, when the initiative group came to the Sverdlovsk film studio with this proposal, it was turned away at the gate. It is doubly sad that those who were turning us down in this case were not some clerks, but our own brother cinematographers.

"Our region is the Northern Caucasus," S. Tsoriyev, governing board member of the CU Northern Caucasus section, continued the topic. "We are allowed to make one major film journal and a half dozen short non-performance films. All efforts to achieve at least one full-length documentary film a year have been unsuccessful to date. We want to resolve this question ourselves, to make as many as we need, as many as we ourselves can..."

S. Tsoriyev raised one other important question. It concerns the creation of the Russian Union of Cinematographers. What kind of social justice is it if all the union republics have a CU, and the RSFSR does not?! How can we speak of a union if the words "Russian film" are up until now still shamefully not mentioned. Yet this concept has a right to existence, like all other national cinemas. Film critic N. Klado spoke about this in his speech.

Overcoming Administrative Habits

Quite recently the film community was heartened by the rapprochement of the positions of the USSR Goskino and the Union of Cinematographers on many key questions of reorganizing cinema. This was especially pleasant because after the 5th Congress the relations between them were largely defined by the word "confrontation". Alas, even today there is again no peace under the two large cinematographic "olive branches". This refers to the new base model of the cinema. The fact is that recently a document was adopted, some of whose positions, in the opinion of the USSR CU leadership, nullify the efforts of the union, which had fought all these years for economic and artistic independence of film making and for freedom from departmental dictates. As A. Smirnov, acting first secretary of the USSR Union of Cinematographers, bitterly noted, "most notable is that huge resistance of the administrative system, when it supports in words the ideas of perestroika, but up until now furiously resists their introduction into life". The argument of the "opposing side", expressed by USSR Goskino First Deputy Chairman A. Medvedev was as follows: "The ratified scheme is needed solely as an assertion of the sector's independence".

Unfortunately, today is it difficult to speak about the independence of the sector. After all, most of the national cinemas have already been placed under the jurisdiction of the republic ministries of culture. However, in this situation, we cannot deny that a significant portion of the guilt lies also with the union leadership, which was unable to continuously and persistently defend the notion of independence of a cinema which was free of departmental dictate, a notion which it had itself declared. This gave the film dramatist from Odessa, I. Starkov, reason to cast sharp but justified reprimands at the leaders of the union and the Goskino. How can we speak of an "equal partnership", of the fact that "the union has become singly responsible for the matters of the cinema", if the studios and associations,

as before, are dependent on the Goskino apparatus? Again they demand the presentation of scripts adopted by the governing boards of independent studios for "approval" by the Goskomitet workers...

The Jointly Elected Path—A Prerequisite For Success

A new moment in the work of the plenum is that its participants have broken up into 6 work groups, each of which has tackled a certain sphere of problems. We were present at a meeting of one of these groups which was discussing the future structure of the Union of Cinematographers. Here everyone expressed their opinion without regard for titles and authority. Here the representatives of the national cinemas sought the optimal variant which would correspond to the interests of all. That is how the outline of one of the most important resolutions arose. What, then, did the plenum decide?

The question was of reorganizing the union on a federative basis was raised. This would provide for the independence of the national creative unions, the conclusion of a union contract and the creation of a general charter on the basis of the federation charters.

The decision of the 5th Congress regarding the creation of a RSFSR Union of Cinematographers must be immediately realized.

A draft of a law on the cinema must be prepared, widely discussed, and presented for review at one of the plenums.

The question of removing from the prerogative of the republic ministries of culture the right of screening and independent acceptance of films must be developed and coordinated with the state organs.

The question of resuming the publication of the cinema newspaper, as well as publication of a new all-union cinema journal illuminating the problems of national cinemas, was again raised.

Along with the problems of the cinema, the plenum's resolutions also dealt with questions of the country's socio-political life.

The decisions were adopted, but the most valuable thing was the specific matters and the accumulated experience.

The plenum listened with approval to the business-like presentation of "Latviyaskino" Association General Director R. Pika, who told about how Latvian cinematographers, without any prompting from above, achieved the organization of a new structure of film making in the republic, totally reconciling administrative, artistic and public interests. We might add that this was done by relying on existing laws on the state enterprise and cooperation.

Obviously, we have not mentioned all the speakers and all that was discussed. We hope to return to this in subsequent materials. However, we would like to report here also on the organizational questions discussed at the plenum.

The plenum granted the request for relieving USSR Union of Cinematographers Governing Board Secretary A. Batalov of his duties due to his artistic commitments and teaching work, and O. Uralov—in connection with his appointment as USSR Goskino deputy chairman. The duties of governing board secretary were assigned to L. Filatov.

New Ties—For The Sake Of New Content

"We must search for new content in the forms of the center's relations with the republics," said E. Shengelaya in his speech. I see the center as a guarantee of the sovereignty and independence of the republics. I see it as the coordinator of economic relations, the sponsor of economic and administrative development of the republics, the encourager of spiritual and cultural ties, and of course, the representative of the interests of the country, all the republics and each one individually on the world area. This, however, does not exclude the possibility of the republics themselves entering into international relations in the sphere of economics, trade and culture.

Can we restructure our national relations on a normal basis? I believe we can. We must cast aside ideological and political dogma and look at man himself. We must see that man himself is prone to socialization, and that man himself is always seeking friendship. It is an inherent trait. Man creates a family and is friendly with other people who have created families. There is a wonderful Russian expression—"to be friendly as households". Let us be friendly as households!

Brodsky Lauded in IZVESTIYA Write-Up
18000273 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Dec 88 p 6

[Interview with Joseph Brodsky, Paris; interviewers Yu. Kovalenko, Ed. Polyanovskiy, special correspondents of IZVESTIYA: "As Long As The Russian Language Exists, Poetry Is Inevitable"]

[Text] About a quarter of a century ago in Leningrad a youth was brought to trial. He was sentenced to incarceration for parasitism.

This youth wrote poems, but the court was completely unwilling to acknowledge this as work. Furthermore the judge had a trump card: "Who appointed you to the ranks of the poets?"

He was right, no one had appointed him. He was not published ("for political considerations"). And the fact that his poems were widely circulated, without benefit of

printing, in handwritten and typed form and orally, was considered to be evidence against him, not in his favor.

The poet was sent to the wilds of Arkhangel.

Some of his greatest countrymen came to his defense—Anna Akhmatova, Aleksandr Tvardovskiy, Korney Chukovskiy, Dmitriy Shostakovich. Alas.

In 1972 the poet forsook his homeland.

And last year, 15 years later, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Sweden, for doing essentially what he had served his sentence for. The Leningrad judge Savelyev and the Swedish Academy in Stockholm had divergent views on poetry.

We are speaking of Joseph Brodsky.

"The annual Nobel prizes are named in honor of their founder, the Swedish chemical engineer, inventor, and industrialist Alfred Bernhard Nobel (1833-1896). In accordance with Nobel's will, the capital he left on his death was used to create the Nobel fund. These resources were invested in stocks, bonds and loans, and the annual income is divided into fifths, each of which is awarded for work in the areas of physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature, and also for activity to strengthen peace.

A Nobel Laureate is given a gold medal with a picture of A. Nobel, a certificate, and a check for a sum of money, the amount of which depends on the income from the Nobel fund (typically, from 30 to 70 thousand dollars).

Discussion of the nominated works and voting take place under conditions of strict secrecy.

The ceremonies awarding the Nobel prize occur in Stockholm and Oslo on 10 December, the anniversary of A. Nobel's death." (From the notes to the publication of the Nobel Lecture in KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE No. 24 for 1988).

Among the laureates in the field of literature are Kipling, Maeterlinck, Faulkner, Hamsun, Hemingway... names of the great Romaine Rolland, Rabindranath Tagore, Winston Churchill. And in the same series, we find our countrymen: Ivan Bunin (1933), Boris Pasternak (1958), Mikhail Sholokhov (1965), Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (1970), Joseph Brodsky (1987).

This would seem to be cause for rejoicing...

However, instead of legitimate feelings of patriotic pride and happiness, there is sadness.

"We must stop fooling around with quasiliterary parasites. There is no place in Leningrad for people like Brodsky..." (from the newspaper VECHERNIY LENINGRAD.)

The poet forsook his homeland at the age of 32. Around that time four of his poems were published in this country.

I no longer remember now whether these four contained these lines from his early works:

Neither countries, nor graveyards
Do I want to select,
I will come to die
On Vasilyev island.
Your dark blue asphalt
I won't find in the dark,
Between the faded lines
On the asphalt I will fall.

Anna Akhmatova loved these lines, which portended a great and tragic fate for the youth.

This fall, almost a year after receiving the Nobel prize, Joseph Brodsky came from New York (he has settled there teaching in a small college) to Europe. During that year several European publishing houses issued a number of his books with enviable dispatch.

The poet came to Paris at the invitation of French slavists to participate in a scientific seminar on "Literature and Philosophy." Despite the participation of two Nobel Laureates in this conference (the other was Cheslav Milosh), there were no special announcements in the papers, no fanfare. And the seminar passed without pomp, in one of the small auditoriums of a former polytechnical school. We, two Soviet journalists, succeeded in stopping Brodsky in the foyer. He listened to our questions without emotion and extremely politely. It was already time to go, but he answered, "Never mind, there is still time."

We spoke for ten minutes We will describe them at the end of this article.

The philosophers spoke at wearisome length in French, which Brodsky does not know. The poet distractedly looked around the hall from the stage, sometimes a vagrant smile appearing on his lips, evidently he had recognized someone in the hall. He smoked a great deal. When he removed his glasses, one could see how weary he was.

This is what we remember most of all from our first meeting—the weariness and extreme simplicity: there is no self-consciousness in him, not in his modest clothes, nor in any of his movements.

Several days later, there was another meeting. This time the Russian poet spoke before a Russian audience. And again, there was no announcement; the little room was smaller than our school rooms. Here there were correspondents from RUSSKAYA MYSL, translators, slavist literary scholars, emigres. There were people sitting on the floor in the single aisle.

Taking off his jacket and unbuttoning the collar of his shirt, Brodsky read poetry for more than two hours—in a singsong voice, standing up and stooping over the pages. Again he smoked a great deal, giving himself a breathing space.

He did not read a single one of the early poems of his youth.

And then, for more than an hour, he answered questions.

[Question] Have you been invited to go to Russia? No? And if you were invited, would you go?"

[Answer] It is hard for me to picture myself as a tourist and guest artist in a country where I was born and grew up. This would be one more absurdity, of which there have already been a sufficient number in my life. While it may make sense for a criminal to return to the scene of his crime, for example, he may have money buried there, returning to the scene of love is generally senseless. Of course, one could go, smile, say "yes," and accept congratulations, but I find such a prospect profoundly unpleasant. I have never permitted and will not permit any hullabaloo to surround my life. That is I will always oppose it... If I were to find myself there suddenly, in the capacity of a private person and see two or three people.. But, speaking generally, I doubt it.

A female voice:

[Question] Do you dream of Leningrad?

[Answer] Very rarely.. The more a person moves around, the more complex is his feeling of nostalgia. You see a colonnade in a dream, but you don't really know if this is the stock exchange or the Viennese opera house.

(Here, the wind doesn't bring me sounds
Of the weeping Russian military horns.)

[Question] Are you happy where you are living?

[Answer] The same as always—there is both good and bad. The percentage of good and bad is always more or less the same in life.

[Question] Have you ever tried your hand at Russian prose?

[Answer] Me? No. Chekhov said of himself, that during his lifetime, he had written everything except poetry and denunciations! Paraphrasing him, I can say that I have written everything except denunciations and prose.

[Question] Do you follow Soviet poetry?

[Answer] More or less. To tell the truth, I am not crazy about the younger generation.

Brodsky mentioned individual names—and generally spoke without enthusiasm. Some might say that he was too exacting or unfair, but he has his own metric and his own point of view. Here is a quotation from the lecture he gave after receiving the Nobel prize: "Regardless of whether a person is a writer or a reader, his primary task consists of living his own life, not one thrust on him or prescribed from the outside, even in the most seemingly noble way. For each one of us has only one life... If Osip Mandelstam, Marina Tsvetayeva, Anna Akhmatova, Robert Frost, or Whiston Oden, spoke from this podium, they would involuntarily speak of themselves... Their ghosts constantly trouble me, they trouble me today... For it is impossible to surpass them on paper; it is impossible to surpass them in life, and their lives were precisely their own, no matter how tragic or bitter they were... I have named only five—those whose work and whose fates are dear to me, if only because, if they hadn't existed, I would not be worth much as a human being or as a writer; at any rate, I would not be standing here today."

He was asked if he, a Russian writer far from home, hadn't lost his feeling for his native language.

[Answer] Possibly, something of the sort has occurred.. In another environment you write with some degree of automaticity.. In Russia, I would have written poetry without even considering such matters. Previously, I envied those three poets I mentioned earlier, because they live at home, the walls help them, the language helps them, the naturalness of their existence helps them.. But it is no less heroic—to remain true to oneself in an unnatural situation. From time to time, I wish I could hear what these three think of what I write.. Language gives birth to poets, poets do not give birth to language. As long as the Russian language exists, something remarkable will always continue to happen from time to time. This is a property of our language. Whatever happens in the country, it will always produce something remarkable from its depths. So long as the Russian language exists, poetry is inevitable.

Is it not sad, is it not tragic, that a man who is so sensitive to and so loves his native language, receives a literary prize for work in a foreign language—for translated poems, which cannot be translated without something being lost.

[Question] What did the award of the Nobel prize mean to you? Do you feel like a different person?

[Answer] No, nothing like that happened. It is of course pleasant, it flatters one's vanity. But my vanity has always been in good shape.

When he was awarded the Nobel prize, he felt himself to be representing his generation, to no greater extent, but to no lesser extent either. "This generation is the generation born at the time when the Auschwitz crematorium was going at full blast, when Stalin was at the zenith of

his godlike, absolute power, power apparently sanctioned by nature itself; a generation which came into the world, judging by all the signs, in order to continue that which theoretically would have been interrupted by those crematoria and the nameless common graves of Stalin's archipelago. The fact that not everything was interrupted—at least in Russia—is, to no small degree, due to my generation, and I am no less proud to belong to it than I am to be standing here today. The fact that I am standing here today is an acknowledgment of the services performed by this generation for culture; remembering Mandelstam, I would add, for world culture." (From his Nobel lecture).

[Question] A poet in Russia is more than a poet, but what about the U.S.?

[Answer] He is a poet and that is more honorable than anything.

Now even our researchers are beginning to write about his rhyme, rhythms, intonations, about his punctuation marks. And it is a good thing that they have begun. So long as they do not forget what happened in the past..

Aleksandr Kushner wrote of the last days of the poet in his homeland (NEVA, No. 3, 1988): "... We met by chance on Kryukovyy Canal. Brodsky was pale and agitated. That was when he told me about his impending departure (the final decision had not yet been made, but was being made at that instant in high places)... We went back to his house on Liteyny—and while I was there the telephone rang. The call was official. Brodsky answered "yes" and the question was decided. Putting the receiver back in its cradle, he covered his face with his hands.. His transplantation to foreign soil was forced and painful. There in the United States, he had to have two operations on his heart. Recall Mandelstam's lines: "Evidently, one cannot escape the consequences of the movements of these lips and the treetop trembles, condemned to felling..."

...Aside from these two operations, there was the death of his parents, whom he was not able to say good-bye to before they died.

And now for the most important thing—our short 10-minute interview.

[Question] Today, when your work is gradually being returned to your homeland, do you still have no desire to return?

He stood there pale, weary, correct.

[Answer] No.

[Question] But what about. "I don't want to choose either a country or a graveyard" ?

[Answer] Only if it is for the graveyard.

[Question] But what if there were a personal invitation, from the Writers' Union, for example?

[Answer] Even more so.

He was silent.

[Answer] It is not a matter of my being offended in some way.. No. No one is to blame for it. Not you, and certainly not me..

We! Blame is measured not only by direct participation, as by the metric of each person's conscience. We—everyone living in his time, participates in everything that happens.

I have nothing to say to any Greek or Varangian.
Because I don't know in what earth I will lie.
Scratch, scratch pen!
Use up the paper.

Nevertheless, he is evidently at some sort of crossroads. In Denmark he was asked this same question, which is invariably put to anyone living in exile: "Do you want to return to Russia?"

[Answer] Life, answered the poet, is eternal parting, and one cannot return to a past life. It no longer exists physically. But I would like to visit my former homeland, in order to visit the graves of my parents and once more see the inside of two or three familiar apartments.

[Question] Have you heard that one of our journals is preparing an article on that ill-fated question?

[Answer] Yes, I heard, but I think it is unnecessary.

He is undoubtedly right. But we too are right. Is it not important to take one extra look at what we were like not so long ago? Don't we have to evaluate ourselves if we really want to move forward, not only in words, but in deeds? When if not today? And not for self-purification or repentance alone (we have learned how to repent and then go on to sin again), but in order to make it less possible or at least more difficult in the future to so drastically blight another's fate.

History remembers, how many times did it already happen—over the centuries—two different writings were being investigated side by side: someone's lines inimitably and disgracefully fit their rhyme and the consequence is a deposition, resolution, judgment. Sometimes they got along without the executioner, duels came to their rescue.

It, history, confirms that when, in order to save yourself or of your own free will, you find yourself far from your fatherland, the Muse does not die. Far from their homelands, emigrants and exiles have at all times been worthy representatives of Russian culture, advancing and developing it, enriching it and worldwide culture.

Today, each of us involved in reevaluating values is both the plaintiff and the accused rolled in/o one.

Where did those early, youthful lines break off?
"Between the faded lines on the asphalt I will fall.."

And my soul, tirelessly
Rushing into the darkness,
Flashes under the bridges
In the smoke of Petrograd.
And the April drizzle,
Is a snowflake down my neck,
And I hear a voice:
"Good-bye, my friend."
And I see two lives

Far beyond the river,
I press my cheek
To my indifferent Fatherland,
Like young sisters
Of years I did not live through,
Running to the island
Beckoning the boy to follow.

.. The wrathful shout of the judge, "Who appointed you to the ranks of the poets?!" And the youth's answer: "I think that that is for god to decide."

Photograph caption: 1972, The poet's last day on the Neva.. The photograph was taken by the poet's father the press photographer Aleksandr Brodsky.

Procuracy Official Recounts Uzbek Corruption Cases

18000383 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 17, 18 Dec 88

[Interview with N. V. Ivanov, USSR Procurator General's investigator for especially important cases, conducted by V. Khodov: "Cleansing"; interview conducted in Tashkent, date not given]

[17 Dec 88 p 3]

[Text] The trial of a group of high-placed bribe-takers and embezzlers that is presently taking place in Moscow on the quiet Vorovskiy Lane in the building of the USSR Supreme Court is an unusual event in our judicial practice. Today attention is riveted to it both in our own country and abroad, but it will be considerably later when we understand its true significance, freed from the gloss of sensationalism and idle curiosity. Because here, between the defendant's dock and the judges' bench, passes the line separating the old from the new in our life, and the trial's results may to a considerable degree reflect the correlation of forces and their alignment in our society for the given historical period.

Of course, the court and only the court may call the defendant a criminal and determine the extent of his guilt and the proper punishment. But no one has a right to forbid us to issue our own verdict, a verdict of conscience, in this case, for there is no honest means in our country to earn the valuables that were confiscated from the defendants, even with very high salaries. As for the author of these lines, he has had the opportunity to see, with his own eyes, treasures that Ali Baba never dreamed of. Granted, it was on a television monitor, since they are presently hidden safely away behind thick bank vault walls.

Yet another video recording comes to mind when I think about the trial and those who are sitting there in what are not the most "honored" seats. Cynicism is always inhumane, but you have to be some sort of geniuses of cynicism to hide your treasures in the homes of the people from whom they have been stolen.

The entire country is helping our Uzbek brothers rid themselves of the vermin that cast a shadow on our good, hospitable and industrious people. The group directed by Telman Khorenovich Gdlyan and Nikolay Veniaminovich Ivanov included investigators and law-enforcement personnel from most of the union republics. Among others, it included representatives of Belorussia—Nikolay Ivko, Gennadiy Borisov, Yevgeniy Kormilchik, Valeriy Kudin and Taras Gonchar. But why use the past tense? The group is continuing to work, and I myself accompanied Taras Grigoryevich Gonchar, an investigator with the Minsk oblast procuracy who assisted me in putting together this article, from Moscow to Tashkent. He was the one who acquainted me with T. Kh. Gdlyan and N. V. Ivanov, extremely interesting

people, and persuaded the latter to give me an interview, which I am offering to SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA's readers.

N. V. Ivanov, the USSR Procurator General's investigator for especially important cases, tells the story.

[Khodov] Nikolay Veniaminovich, let's take a brief trip to the past, to the sources of the judicial investigation.

[Ivanov] As a matter of fact, the story of the investigation reflects the principal stages of political life in our country over the past few years. Like a drop of water, it reflects the struggle and contradictions belonging to the present historical moment, which is destined to play a tremendous role in our life and the life of subsequent generations.

Thus, in November 1982 Brezhnev died. Andropov became general secretary. One must not forget that he had headed the State Security Committee for many years and for that reason was a person who possessed great information regarding the domestic political situation in the country, a person who could not help seeing the serious situation that society was going through. And naturally, since Andropov was a patriot of the homeland, he felt pain for the people and the state. That was immediately reflected in actual policies.

In practically the first month of his tenure in the high office, Andropov kicked out Shchelokov as minister of internal affairs; Shchelokov was a typical representative of the years of stagnation who embodied the bureaucratic command methods of government and unscrupulousness to the utmost degree. A whole series of measures to strengthen labor discipline and establish order followed. A sharp step-up in the work of the law-enforcement agencies took place during this period.

I must honestly say that for many years the law-enforcement agencies had not been allowed to really work, and artificial "off-limits zones" had been created for them. There was practically no really possibility of stripping the cover off organized crime.

In both the 1970s and the early 1980s, all the most significant cases involving organized groups of criminals were mainly initiated by the State Security Committee, while agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs failed to rise to the level of major exposures. Moreover, it happened that officials of the procuracy agencies would come across "connections" between embezzlers and bribe takers and employees of the internal affairs agencies. After all, persons who have been committing crimes for a long time in the sphere of the economy always need a reliable "cover." And so, a process of merger between the criminal world and certain high-placed officials of the law-enforcement agencies took place.

In combating organized crime, the procuracy agencies assumed the main role, since they had the most qualified

investigative apparatus. The thing is, since the 1920s all investigation had been located in the procuracy agencies, with the exception, of course, of the famous "troikas." And only in 1963 was an investigative apparatus set up in the system of the internal affairs agencies, but all of the most significant crimes continued to be investigated in the procuracy agencies.

The work of the Uzbek SSR State Security Committee sharply picked up in the new situation. For a long time that republic had lain outside the zone of criticism and accessibility to the law-enforcement agencies, and therefore criminals did not even resort to camouflage and would often operate openly.

Despite the position of Rashidov, who naturally did everything possible to prevent having his dirty laundry hung out, the Uzbek SSR State Security Committee conducted a series of operations and turned several leads over to the investigators. One of them was the so-called "Bukhara case." That occurred in April 1983, when Muzafarov, director of the Bukhara Oblast Internal Affairs Administration's Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, was caught red-handed taking 1,000 rubles in bribes. A search of his home was conducted. Major items of value were uncovered in his home: about a million rubles in banknotes alone, various gold items, a mass of industrial goods, and textiles that when measured amounted to about one and a half kilometers.

After that the state security agencies "nabbed" a few other "secondary" figures in Bukhara. They were the director of the Bukhara City Industrial Trade Association, the director of the Bukhara Oblispolkom's Internal Affairs Administration, the director of the oblast administration for material and technical supply, and so on. Eight people in all.

Rashidov insisted that the investigation be conducted by republic internal affairs agencies. If that had happened, it is hardly likely that the trial of Churbanov and others would be going on now. Because everyone would have simply slammed on the brakes. Of course, those who had gotten caught would have been convicted, but the matter would have ended there.

By that time Rashidov no longer possessed his former power, and he was unable to interfere. And in the final analysis the USSR Procuracy took the case for prosecution. That is when the "Gdlyan group," of which I and Tuktarov, a young investigator from Kazan, became members, originated.

The three of us went to Uzbekistan and started to work in what was a rather difficult situation.

By the summer of 1983 Andropov was severely ill. That permitted Rashidov to strike a "preventive blow" against the persons who had initiated the "Bukhara case." As a result, Lt Gen Melkumov, chairman of the

Uzbek SSR KGB, was sent to serve as a councilor at the embassy in Czechoslovakia. His deputy Lagunov was transferred to an oblast in the Russian Federation. The chief of the Uzbek SSR KGB's investigative department was hastily retired. A whole series of other transfers also took place. That is, it was immediately made clear that you had better not get "mixed up" anywhere you weren't invited when there was a "boss" in the republic.

But we had already gotten the case, and we started to work. The interference in our work was colossal and reached the point where we could not even transfer criminals who had been caught to Moscow without "consent at the highest level."

And then Rashidov died. The most consistent Rashidovites assumed leadership. To all intents and purposes, there were no changes, in our view, except that the demagoguery intensified.

[Khodov] May I interrupt you? There are all sorts of legends surrounding Rashidov's death, and it is even said that he committed suicide. Does the USSR Procuracy have any information on this score?

[Ivanov] I have also heard a lot of talk about that. I can say one thing: we have no information that his death was due to unnatural causes or violent.

[Khodov] And have you seen the medical findings?

[Ivanov] The medical findings speak of general illnesses. But I want to call attention to something else. The point is that by the time of his death Rashidov was in approximately the same situation as Kunayev and Demirchyan found themselves in a little later. Rashidov was being summoned to the Central Committee, explanations were being demanded of him concerning the padding of cotton reports, and a rather serious question had been raised about him. And Rashidov recognized full well that he was already politically dead. His removal was a matter of months.

We brought criminal charges against the father of Rashidov's son-in-law, Kamalov, first secretary of the Kara Kalpak Obkom, and a substantial number of his associates and his closest aides, and they told about how seriously Rashidov had taken the change of power in the Kremlin. His patron had left, and his positions under the new leadership were extremely shaky. That position and that situation could not help affecting Rashidov's health and speeding up the course of his disease.

Since he died in office, the usual ritual that had been developed during the stagnation period for such cases took place. Rashidov was buried in the Lenin Memorial. In Tashkent in the city center there is a Lenin Square, and nearby is a branch of the Vladimir Ilyich Lenin Museum. A little to one side is the large building of the State Security Committee, and beside it—a little square where a stone once stood. A monument to fighters for the

revolution was supposed to be erected in it. That is where Rashidov was buried. His toadies, of course, did their best. It was extremely important to them to do anything possible to maintain Rashidov's cult. As long as that cult lived, they too were alive.

It must be said that the leadership from Moscow raised serious objections against that burial act. But everyone was confronted with a fait accompli. That made many measures connected with the exposure of the Rashidov cult and his crimes more complicated.

When the investigation nonetheless managed to establish that that person was a major bribe-taker and the one responsible for many negative phenomena in the republic, who had done colossal psychological, moral, ideological and economic damage to the people, Moscow took the decision to revoke the measures to perpetuate Rashidov's memory. Nonetheless, that matter dragged on for many months; after all, after it the question of the liability of Rashidov's aides, who were still at the helm of the republic's administration, would unavoidably come onto the agenda. In order to at least react in some fashion, his portrait was removed from his grave, but the grave itself remained. And it was not until early 1987 that he was reburied in a general cemetery. There was a short notice of the matter in the Tashkent city newspaper.

By the end of 1983 we came to realize that the problem did not lie only in the Bukhara Oblast internal affairs agencies but that everything was much more complicated. The threads led to Tashkent, to the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and party agencies.

In 1984 we managed with great difficulty to obtain two sanctions—for the arrests of Karimov, first secretary of the Bukhara Party Obkom, and Ergashev, the minister of internal affairs. It should be said that during the period of stagnation first secretaries of party obkoms were off-limits to the law-enforcement agencies. No matter what criminal acts they committed, no matter how they compromised themselves, at best they might be removed from office or expelled from the party, but in no case would they be held criminally accountable.

At that time we managed to carry out only one sanction. Karimov was arrested. That took place on 11 August 1984.

[Khodov] Did you take part directly in that action?

[Ivanov] Yes.

[Khodov] How did Karimov see his downfall?

[Ivanov] He saw it as an act of betrayal by his accomplices. Moreover, as we subsequently established, he had been informed about his imminent arrest. Some of his more highly placed bribe-takers tried to return him part of the money and pleaded with him not to mention their names during the investigation. They hinted that in such

cases a man would take the only possible decision. The same sort of influence was exerted on Uzbekistan's Minister of Internal Affairs Ergashev. But Karimov did not resort to suicide. Ergashev, on the other hand, killed himself. That happened on 16 August 1984.

Let us recall: 1984, that is, the time that we call the period of stagnation. And nonetheless, we managed to make this breakthrough, of sorts, in this case. The legal process begun in a period when Andropov was still alive was hard to stop.

Nonetheless, the appointment of Chernenko as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee aroused hopes in the criminals. It was shameful and unpleasant for me to hear our "clients" say directly to our faces: "Well, fellows, now you won't be able to do anything else. Yes, we've been caught, but all the same you won't pull this trick off. Our side has it." To hear such a thing is agony for an investigator. And we are not just investigators. We are also, generally speaking, carrying out our state policy, and every failure we experience in this connection is a stain on the state. We recognized this full well. And we sincerely wanted for it not to be them, the thieves and embezzlers, but us who proved victorious in the final analysis.

(To be continued)

[18 Dec 88 p 3]

[Text] [Khodov] Was your work impeded during Chernenko's tenure?

[Ivanov] After charges had been brought against Karimov, and Ergashev had committed suicide, we continued our research solely along the lines of Karimov's criminal activities, and it was extremely difficult to touch on any other spheres. All of our most active efforts have occurred in the period since March 1985.

It is no accident that I sometimes use the word "research" in place of "investigation." We were engaged not so much in the solving of crimes as in the in-depth study of the bureaucratic command system of management that had given rise to those crimes.

In principle, all the main difficulties in our work came down to the opposition that would arise in a given time span. Telman Khorenovich Gdlyan and I have told about this in the 26th issue of the magazine OGONEK, in an article by that very title, where we noted three periods in our work. A period, so to speak, of the gathering of forces, when brazen interference in our investigations simply occurred. It lasted until 1985. Then the second stage, when we managed, generally speaking, together with society as a whole, to accomplish a great deal and to move decisively from words to deeds. And now we are in the third and, I would say, main stage

in our work on completing the investigation. We are trying to complete it conscientiously, in a principled and honest fashion.

If the policy that was proclaimed by the 19th Party Conference is consistently carried out, if the proposals that were made at it are acted on, and if the resolutions that it adopted are consistently implemented, legality and justice will, of course, triumph.

The trial of Churbanov and company is no ordinary trial. It reflects, in a concentrated form, everything that was taking place in society.

The problems of establishing socialist legality and creating a law-governed state have been developing for many years. Now they are at the center of attention, and a consistent effort must be made to solve them.

[Khodov] We have always taken pride in our Constitution and legal justice system. Finally, the word "procuracy" alone has evoked a sacred tremble. Why, with such a seemingly harmonious legal system, was it not possible to create a genuinely law-governed state?

[Ivanov] That is by no means an idle question. Today it is clear that every victory by the procuracy agencies, like every defeat, is directly bound up with the structure, the political organization of society, that existed. And if for many years it was advantageous to have local procurators in one's "pocket" and subject to pressure, if it was advantageous to shut up the disobedient investigative and procuracy employees who attempted to take any sort of independent line, all that merely reflected the situation that was developing in society.

Granted, according to the Constitution the procuracy carries out the highest oversight over legality. And it is required to do that in all spheres—in the courts, in investigative work, and in corrective-labor legislation, and to carry out general oversight to ensure the execution of laws by all economic-management organizations, enterprises, ministries and departments. All that is true. But it is by no means always possible to exercise declared rights. In accordance with the law, every investigator is required to establish the causes and conditions contributing to the commission of a crime. But have we always identified them?

An elementary example. An investigator is conducting a case involving theft at a meat-packing combine. If he wants to make a major study, he is supposed to find the answer to the question: why do these loopholes exist? Legal loopholes, at that. Incidentally, any meat-packing combine reflects in miniature the situation in the industry, while the industry reflects the situation in the whole economic mechanism. But how can the investigator carry out a study when he is told: "Let's go, let's go, finish it faster. You've got two months for the case, so don't 'poke' deeply into all these questions." That's what

constantly happened. Any attempts to undertake a study of any of the more serious structures were cut off at the root.

One of the most vivid examples was the Sochi-Krasnoyarsk case, in which employees of the USSR Procuracy, headed by V. V. Naydenov, the deputy USSR procurator general, tried to call to account certain officials who had stepped out of bounds. How did it end? With the resignation of the deputy procurator general. High-placed protectors of the scoundrels are to blame for the fact that we do not have him in our ranks today. And the procuracy was taught a bitter lesson: know your limits and don't get any big ideas.

[Khodov] In tackling this case, you realized full well how it might end.

[Ivanov] No.

[Khodov] But you had the Sochi "lesson" before your eyes.

[Ivanov] When we started the investigation in Uzbekistan, we did not yet know the true scope of the case. A tiny little hearth was smoldering. It was even offensive and incomprehensible why the USSR Procuracy should concern itself with such matters. After all, it is supposed to get involved only in the most serious cases, and there are other agencies for the small ones. It was later that we figured out what was what.

When Karimov was arrested and valuables worth about 6 million rubles were confiscated from him, people around started saying that on the whole everything in the republic was supposedly all right, that everything was fine, but in Bukhara Oblast, oh boy!, how bad it was, and Uzbekistan had been shamed. When we went to the next oblast—Kashkadarya—and established that exactly the same structure existed there and received sanction to arrest Gaipov, the first secretary of the party obkom, some people had to start thinking about their own fates. Granted, we did not succeed in arresting Gaipov. He committed suicide.

Our work is seriously complicated by the fact that many underground millionaires had employees of law-enforcement agencies on the "string" as consultants. The imperfection of our legislation has also frequently come to light. Let me cite an example. If the head of a major crime clan dies, the case is closed, and the further search of the "legacy" is stopped. Moreover, even what was confiscated may be returned to the "heirs."

Knowing that, a person taking leave of life is confident that his millions will remain in the family. Such a circumstance frequently contributed to the fact that at the first stage of an investigation there were so many suicides.

[Khodov] Does that mean that there should be consideration of the imperfection of our legislation?

[Ivanov] Yes, and extremely serious imperfection, at that. Incidentally, that situation is circumvented when it is a matter of simple criminals. For example, a thief has robbed a bank or savings bank and stolen, say, hundreds of thousands of rubles. The investigators have established who the criminal is but have not had time to "invite" him—let's put it that way—before he has died. In that case the investigative agencies do not drop the search for the stolen property.

[Khodov] Have you submitted this matter for consideration by the legislative bodies?

[Ivanov] As you understand, the USSR procurator general's investigator for especially important cases has no right of legislative initiative. Of course, these matters are urgent and should be resolved, especially now that preparations are under way for a serious change in our laws.

[Khodov] Let's return to your investigative group and talk a bit about its makeup and the system by which it was formed.

[Ivanov] We began, as I have already said, with a small, narrow composition—three people. We immediately faced a serious question: whether to use the assistance of the local procuracy and local investigators. When major cases are processed, local personnel are included in groups rather often. There was no talk at all about investigators from the internal affairs agencies, in connection with the circumstances that had been uncovered of complicity by many of them in corruption and other crimes. Nonetheless, after long debates we reached the conclusion that we had to take advantage of the experience of local specialists and their knowledge of the everyday life and traditions of the people. Therefore, the first people enlisted in our group were Uzbek procuracy employees and investigators. It must be said that a first-rate collective was made up out of them.

Of course, we paid very close attention to the professional and moral qualities of each staff member. There was a strict selection process. Toward the end of 1983 we managed to put together a group of 20 people. Work loads increased, and we had to work in many areas. The process of forming the group continued. Now we have about 150 investigators in the group—it's the largest group in the country—whereas there were 30-35 people in 1984, about 60 by the end of 1985, and 100 last year.

I would note the exceptionally internationality nature of the group. On the whole a solid, strong collective has developed. People have shown themselves unexpectedly and rapidly.

[Khodov] Under what conditions is the "Gdlyan group" working?

[Ivanov] Our people are cut off from their families and normal life for many years. It is not easy to endure the difficult climatic conditions, either. You don't even get accustomed to the food right away. We sometimes talk about the fact that it is difficult to live in the Far North and Sakhalin in view of their remoteness, but few people know how hard it is for people to live in Karakalpakia. The temperature variation is terrible.

And if you take into account the constant resistance to the investigation and the mass of the most diverse provocations, it becomes understandable how hard it is for people. Not everyone has withstood these burdens. But on the whole a fairly good core has developed. People in the group are working out of conviction. After all, you cannot command a person to spend, say, five years on a special assignment, and one that is so far from home and family, at that.

[Khodov] Can it be that the material benefits have interested some of them?

[Ivanov] Material benefits? There have already been divorces. Financial penalties have been exacted. There has been illness. In the past two months alone, some six people have been hospitalized.

[Khodov] A person who finds a treasure gets to keep one quarter of its value. Yet you have expended tremendous effort to return valuables to the people and have received nothing. Incidentally, what is the total sum of confiscations by your group?

[Ivanov] I won't name a specific figure, although I know it. There are items of tremendous value.

[Khodov] I think that in this case the people would not oppose having at least a small percentage go to the individuals who have been involved in the search for those millions.

[Ivanov] The laws of a number of other countries have provisions to the effect that in the case of indemnification, or of large confiscations of any valuables gained by criminal means, the investigative and operational personnel receive a certain percentage. That is, they have a material stake. We don't have that, and I don't think we should. Only honest and disinterested people can and should wage the fight against underground millionaires. Calculations of gain or any sort of material interests should not get mixed up in this. And if things were different in our country, I can imagine how all our adversaries would be screaming that this was being done not for the sake of truth, not for the sake of restoring justice, and not for the sake of returning these tremendous sums that are lying around stored in money boxes to the country, but for the sake of personal enrichment.

We are confiscating only a small part of what has been spread around among various people. We simply lack the capability to carry out the compulsory confiscation of all

the rest, and it amounts to tremendous sums that greatly exceed what has already been confiscated.

One person, a "simple Soviet millionaire," as we say, told me personally the following: "Yes, you know a lot about me, and I really do possess large sums and items of value. I would turn them over, but if I bring those sacks to you, you'll arrest me. Therefore, I won't take a step to meet you in that direction. If I were convinced that I wouldn't be punished, you could go ahead and take it today."

But we cannot take that route, because the law forbids it. I am convinced that legislation ought to be enacted to declare amnesty for people who turn items of value over to the state. And that it should be established, in this connection, that if you turn items of value over within the specified time limits, you will not be held criminally liable, but if you don't, you have only yourself to blame.

When we had just begun the "Bukhara investigation," we were told, by way of guidance: "Do your thing there and show those millionaires, trade officials, etc." But we realized that we would be chasing after the "small fry," that we would get mired in the swamp, and the real guilty parties would cover their tracks.

The new republic leadership had to give an accounting of themselves from above and show how they were waging an "uncompromising struggle" against vice. The wolves started to dress in sheep's clothing. Criminal charges started to be brought against brigade leaders, sovkhos directors, kolkhoz chairmen, and so forth, that is, against lower-level executives who had been required to carry out someone else's instructions.

[Khodov] The time is drawing near when your group will complete this investigation and its members will leave for their own homes. Over the years of joint work a collective, a powerful investigative apparatus, has developed. And now it will break up.

[Ivanov] I think that people who have passed the test for honesty and principle and substantially increased their professional skills will become, in their various local areas, active fighters against organized crime and corruption.

Inspectorate of Juvenile Affairs Granted Broader Powers

18000284 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 22 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Yelena Vlasova under the rubric "Actual Interview": "Punishment or Education"?]

[Excerpts] Our correspondent discusses the changes in the work of the Inspectorate of Juvenile Affairs with Yu. Astakhov, the Latvian SSR First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs.

[Vlasova] Currently there is much talk about the rejuvenation of crime. Particularly in our republic. While, on the average, juveniles commit every 6th or 7th crime throughout the country, in our republic—they commit every 4th crime. 44 agencies are involved in the education of juveniles. Alas, with so many nursemaids a child is often left without supervision. One of these "nursemaids" is the Inspectorate of Juvenile Affairs (IDN).

[Astakhov] The historical predecessor of the IDN was the militia juvenile delinquents' room. It had many functions: to pick up neglected children on the streets and hand them over to their parents. Then the IDN appeared on the scene. But in essence little has changed. The IDN could not decide anything independently.

[Vlasova] On 5 January 1988, the USSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium issued a decree, which brought about changes and additions to the primary rights and responsibilities of the Inspectorate of Juvenile Affairs. What do these changes entail?

[Astakhov] If one answers briefly, the decree increases the IDN official's authority and expands his rights. From now on militia workers, who are nominated to positions in the IDN, must go through a recertification in the internal affairs agencies and a special confirmation by the ispolkoms of the rayon and city Councils of People's Deputies. This expansion of the IDN official's rights includes the fact that henceforth he is not only empowered to check the status of the educational work of juvenile delinquents' in educational institutions, through their place of residence or employment, but also to raise the question concerning the accountability of officials in cases where there is a violation of the legal requirements to prevent neglect and delinquency among juveniles before the appropriate government agencies and social organizations.

From now on an IDN official does not have to go through the commission on juvenile affairs, but can personally make suggestions to the agencies of guardianship and trusteeship concerning restricting or depriving the right of a minor from 15 to 18 years of age to independently manage his earnings and stipend; he can submit written requests to the rayon (city) People's Court concerning the restriction of the parents' activity and the deprivation of their parental rights. In individual cases children may be taken away from their parents without the deprivation of parental rights. IDN officials are granted the right of evicting persons, who have been deprived of their parental rights, if it is impossible for them to live with their children.

As you see, important rights have been granted to the inspectors of juvenile affairs. I think that the competent use of these rights will have a substantial influence both on the teenagers, themselves, and on their parents, as

well as on the status of educational work in the collectives. I hope that this work will be more effective than before, a whole series of bureaucratic sections have been eliminated.

[Vlasova] There are 5 thousand teenagers, on the average, living in each inspector's area. Even with the best will in the world to conduct serious work with all "difficult" teenagers, he cannot do it alone...

[Astakhov] Unfortunately, the inspector of juvenile affairs has few assistants—not assistants on paper only, but actual assistants. This work must be conducted both in the places of study or work of the children and the parents, and in their places of residence. I would like to note that the participation of social organizations, especially of the Komsomol, leaves much to be desired. By way of illustration, let us take the active Komsomol detachments of voluntary people's militia. Before they were a faithful assistant to the IDN. But recently, after being denied three additional days of leave, 3 thousand members of the voluntary people's militia patrols abandoned us. And even out of the 7 thousand Latvian Special Community Watch Committees (OKOD), only 2 thousand in all are operating.

"Difficult" teenagers still have not become a general concern. They are reluctantly accepted by study groups and sections, and in the summer by the detachments of LOTOS and by camps. And statistics indicate that teenagers often start down the path to juvenile delinquency namely because of unorganized spare time. These problems are being solved extremely slowly.

We also have examples of well-organized work with teenagers and their parents, who are on the books in the IDN. In the Bauska rayon, the rayon Party committee coordinates the activities of all concerned organizations and the rayon ispolkom and the Village Soviets actively participate in the work.

[Vlasova] Are there many juvenile delinquents and parents currently on the books in the Inspectorates of Juvenile Affairs?

[Astakhov] In excess of 6,600 "difficult" teenagers and almost 2500 parents. This is a lot for our small republic. And here is another unpleasant statistic. Last year more than 2,800 juveniles in a state of intoxication were detained by internal affairs agencies, an additional 180—for using narcotics and hallucinogens, and more than 4,000—for committing other transgressions of the law, which involve measures of administrative and social influence. As you can see, the situation is alarming. The state of delinquency among juveniles indicates substantial flaws in their upbringing.

[Vlasova] The militia has to redress the consequences of dereliction on the part of parents, schools, and work collectives. But after all when a case reaches the point of

a clash with the internal affairs agencies, are not the behavior and interests of the juvenile already firmly deformed?

[Astakhov] You have touched upon almost the most critical and important part of the problem of juvenile crime, which in the last 15 years has more than doubled in our republic. A.V. Vlasov, the USSR Minister of Interior Affairs, answered your question in the article "Watching Over Law and Order", which was published in the magazine "KOMMUNIST" No 5. Therefore, I will cite this article:

"...On the whole the prevention of juvenile delinquency has to a considerable extent become a problem of the militia and not one of specialized pedagogical and child-rearing techniques. Even the local Soviets' commissions on juvenile affairs, in considering 3-4 times more cases than the People's Courts (in 1987, the commissions on juvenile affairs in our republic considered more than 14 thousand materials of indictment.—Yu. Astakhov), have primarily turned into organs of punishment rather than educational organizations".

It is no coincidence that we are demanding that the inspectorates delve more deeply into the causes and conditions, which promote delinquency, and report on them to the local government agencies, social organizations, and the administration at places of study or employment. It is true that until recently we have been poorly informed about the measures which have been taken. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree has required that the IDN be informed within the period of one month of the measures, which have been taken as a result of the consideration of these cases.

[Vlasova] You stated that all the officials at the Inspectorates of Juvenile Affairs must undergo a proper certification. Is this not just a formal act legalizing their official position?

[Astakhov] We consider the forthcoming confirmation of IDN officials as a means of increasing not only their authority, but also their responsibility for the performance of their extremely important duties. During the certification, we will make a principled assessment of each IDN official's work and personal qualities and set dates for eliminating existing deficiencies. The majority of IDN officials are conscientious people, who are filled with initiative and devoted to their work.

Unfortunately, there are also officials, whose work falls short of the ever increasing demands—and not only because they have not been working long. We will decide collectively whether it is worthwhile for them to work with teenagers or to switch to another less responsible job. Mistakes cannot be tolerated in this work, the stake is too great.

Yelena Vlasova.

Official Reaction to Frunze Political Youth Club Negative

18000254 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAKYA PRAVDA
in Russian 30 Nov 88 p 5

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent S. Romanyuk: "Don't Dare Have an Opinion: About How the Members of a Political Club Were Included Among the 'Different Thinkers'"]

[Text] It happened that practically simultaneously, with a difference of several days, about a dozen letters, more correctly statements, of an identical character, were received by various authorities, containing demands that they "turn attention to", "not permit", "punish", etc. Various people had signed them. Among their authors were a student and a doctor of sciences, Komsomol and party workers, a militia official and a party veteran, in a word, representatives of various age and social groups which, evidently, was supposed to create an impression of general indignation.

All this because of a group of young people who are sowing discord in the capital of the republic.

The "case" was as follows.

On 12 October of this year, at 1900 hours, within the walls of the editorial offices of the newspaper KOMSOMOLETS KIRGIZII, there was supposed to be a regular meeting of the "Demos" political club, which has already existed for a year under the "molodezhka" youth program. That same day, the phone rang in the office of the editor, A. Borodkina. The secretary of the Kirghiz Komsomol Central committee, E. Muktarov, invited her to an urgent meeting in his office.

"A threat hangs over us," said Muktarov. "Your political club has gone too far in its talk."

Five hours later, a meeting of the newspaper's editorial collegium took place, at which it was decided that the political club would no longer meet in the editorial offices.

After another three days, the Kirghiz Komsomol Central Committee bureau held a meeting. There was a single question on the agenda—"The Serious Mistakes Permitted by the Newspaper KOMSOMOLETS KIRGIZII in its Supervision of the Demos political club." A. Borodkina and her deputy, Ye. Makhanko, were issued reprimands.

The records of the department of propaganda and agitation of the Kirghiz Komsomol Central Committee state that "...the political club, which was intended to be one of the forms of Komsomol political education, became, in essence, an informal association of people having particular political views and ideas in common. While employing the terminology of fighters for restructuring and glasnost, they, in essence, distorted the content of

the changes that are taking place within the country... Jumping from one theme to another, without necessary analysis, and the absence... of a precise idea of how to instruct young people in their responsibilities as citizens, frequently led to a loss of objectivity... This can be noted from materials of the political club at the medical institute."

Do not be surprised—such is the style and tone of this document, categorical, a verdict, to be precise. And so, what happened at the medical institute? On 16 December of last year, "Molodezhka" published a report on a meeting of members of the political club with students and teachers of the institute. Fundamental questions are raised in these materials—about protectionism, about the quality of the study process, about the incompetence of individual teachers, about student self-rights.

We will note right away that this material was taken down on tape and there has been practically no dispute concerning the facts. But a refutation, signed by the rector of the institute, nevertheless followed. He disagreed fundamentally with the headline of the article, "Restructuring at the Institution of Higher Education: An Illusion or Reality?". Perhaps, in fact, this is not the most fortunate headline for an article; other, better ones, can be thought up. But this is another question.

From the records of the department of propaganda: "Utilizing the central press, a member of the club and correspondent of the newspaper KOMSOMOLETS KIRGIZII, A. Chelnokov, writes: 'And it is no longer so important to us what sort of opinion functionaries in various offices hold concerning our activities' (KOMSOMOLSKAKYA PRAVDA, 31 August of this year). The matter is reaching the point of where members of the political club are putting themselves in opposition to party and Komsomol organs: '...our opponents are officials, including those who occupy offices behind the marble walls of the buildings which I have already mentioned.'"

But, why is KOMSOMOLETS KIRGIZII here? Is it really not so that any person in our country, also including a journalist, is free to write to any newspaper in our country?

Evidently they have understood in the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Komsomol that a central newspaper is not subordinate to them and that they will not succeed in taking it in hand for publishing "extremely unpleasant news." But with their own, this is possible...

From the records of the department of propaganda: "Members of the club openly (?) began to express their disagreement with the policy and tactics of the CPSU, they assert that the Soviet state is conducting a policy of repression against its own people and, at the same time, they compare our system with a fascist regime. Thus, at one of the sessions, which took place on 14 September of

this year, A. Knyazev said: "If the situation with democracy in the country does not change, then in several years we will reach a dictatorship of a fascist state."

Labels, labels... As regards the quote given in the records, it sounded somewhat different: "If sharp changes do not occur, in the middle of the 1990's our economy will collapse... Then it will be too late to concern ourselves with democracy—dictatorship corresponds more to periods of economic collapse..." And if we are to be principled to the end, then there is no reason to ascribe these words to Knyazev. They were expressed by the well-known publicist Vasilii Selyunin in NOVYY MIR (No 5, 1988).

Further from the department of propaganda records: "...At a meeting of the club on 28 September of this year, there was a discussion of the creation of an organization as an alternative to the CPSU. A number of the club's members are placing their hopes in the establishment of a popular front within the republic... One of the first to support this proposal was A. Chelnokov..."

Discussion of a popular front did take place. Articles published in the central press were discussed. By that time, practically all the newspapers had referred to the "fronts". And this idea already existed even independently of the Kirgiz Komsomol Central Committee. So what should we do? Forbid its mention? But we already know what the prohibition of ideas leads to. And perhaps it is better to let people examine it for themselves.

On 28 September, one of the club's guests brought two versions of a program for a popular front, compiled following the model adopted in Estonia. For the sake of justice, I will even note that specifically Chelnokov was against the very idea and a majority of the club members supported him. The president of Demos, Rushan Lyukmanov, spoke in favor of the popular front, but with a proviso on which he insisted: A national front should be in opposition not to the CPSU, but to bureaucracy...

From the records of the propaganda department: "Recently, letters discussing the political positions of Demos members have begun to arrive more frequently at party organs and in the Komsomol Central Committee from people who have participated in sessions of the political club and from readers of KOMSOMOLETS KIRGIZII. A lack of control, an absence of necessary direction by the editor of the paper, A.N. Borodkina, and the deputy editor, Ye. A. Makhanko, over the activities the Demos political club have become a reason for harmful and ideologically damaging propaganda among the readers..."

A protocol was signed, a trial took place. But was it just?

We have discussed this strange protocol with many members of the republic Komsomol Central Committee bureau. All were surprisingly of one mind: It was necessary this way. They told me, almost in a whisper: "Signals

were received." "It was necessary to react." "We cannot not believe the material that was presented." And even: "Each of his, in his pocket, has a party card." I asked them to show me if only one letter. There did not turn out to be any such letters in the Komsomol Central Committee. Senior comrades from the department of propaganda and agitation at the Kirghiz CP Central Committee had loaned them these letters for a time. The first deputy chief, A.I. Malevanniy, did not immediately agree to familiarize me with them. He finally gave in. We sat opposite one another and Aleksandr Ivanovich read extracts from the statements, carefully hiding the signatures of their authors. He did this, as he explained to me, for ethical considerations—permission to divulge their names had not been obtained from the writers.

...Yes, there were, to be sure, mistakes in the political club. It has many voices and different opinions are held there, now and then, even by bosom friends. Entrance here is free; the doors are open to all. And they were opened by diverse people; it turned out there was nowhere to stand in the editorial office, the guests thronged at the doors, the floor was given to anyone who wished to take it. Is it really possible in such a situation to give a guarantee that only "correct" points of view will be expressed?

In one of the postcards read to me by A.I. Malevanniy I heard the phrase: "Having arrived at the meeting of the club on instructions..." On whose instructions? Well, o.k.. It's possible—on instructions. But does it really become any person, on instructions, to write denunciations out of the thin air? Why did none of the writers of the statements express his position directly, his disagreement with Demos, why did he not enter into a furious discussion? Why, finally, does such a very deep secret reign around the "signals"? What kind of ethics is this?

...There is still another nuance to this story, which I have no right to circumvent. Remember: Less than five hours passed from that very moment when, in the office of the editor of KOMSOMOLETS KIRGIZII, the phone rang from the Central Committee until the decision was made to remove Demos from the walls of the editorial offices. Envious reaction time! And it cannot be said that this decision was made by people who had a poor understanding of what they were voting for. Indeed, all of them knew that the decision was a dubious one. All were convinced that Demos brought an enormous benefit to "Molodezhka": It gained the newspaper a weekly page and brought the editors dozens of new writers.

And nonetheless... The participants in this story acted as if blindly, on instructions from above. A signal was received—it is necessary to act—in order to protect oneself. And suddenly it has turned out—the threat is not "from above," and it is not resolutions passed by higher authorities that must be feared, but public opinion, giasnost!

And the matter is even not so much in the Demos political club. It has turned out to be a "tough nut". The young people have demonstrated that there is nothing "anti-Soviet" in their activities. The editorial collegium of KOMSOMOLETS KIRGIZII has also changed its hasty decision about Demos and now meetings of the club are once again taking place under the editors' roof. A question bothers me: How could all this happen in our times? Indeed, time itself is revolting against absurd armchair decisions, and therefore the spectacle thought up in Frunze was doomed in advance.

But, nevertheless, this retrogressive spectacle did take place. And there is no guarantee that it will not be repeated in the future.

Youth Activities, Informal Groups, Fronts Discussed

18300239 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 21 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by V. Akimov and M. Chirkov: "Springs and Quiet Factories"; first paragraph is KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Walking recently through the capital's Park imeni 28 Guards Panfilovs, we became involuntary witnesses to a lively exchange of opinions by a group of young men and women. They were discussing some newspaper article or other. While generally approving what had been written, the young people—with the categorical imperative that is peculiar to youth—clearly did not agree with several of the author's conclusions, relying most frequently on the words: restructuring, democratization, revolutionary reforms, my position. This could not fail to make us glad: During the fall, a breath of spring—the spring of social renewal—was also being felt in Alma-Ata's parks just as everywhere else in our country.

This spring is being felt in much—including in the impetuous growth of social activity. The cleaning up of stagnation's silt, which began after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum in all areas of our life, has revealed springs of national initiative and led to splashes of civic self-awareness and, consequently, to an increase in the number of convinced supporters of restructuring. That is why the stream of forces supporting socialist renewal and the country's shift to a qualitatively new level of development is constantly expanding and becoming stronger. Characteristically, it is being filled more and more during recent times by the public's independent action movement: by various types of initiative groups, discussion clubs, associations and other non-traditional formations of the population.

In all fairness, it is necessary to point out that this phenomenon is essentially not new. All sorts of initiatives were born in our country before. Let us recall the literary life of the Twenties. What creative unions did not exist at that time: RAPP [Russian Association of

Proletarian Writers], LEF [Left Front of Art], the Serapinov Brothers.... You will not confine yourself to a dozen! Such abrupt "splashes" occurred during turning-points when the intellectual and social energy, which had been accumulated in society, did not find an outlet in the existing organizational forms of creativity, management or, let us say, direction. Now, restructuring has given birth to a great number of forms for independent public activity—forms aimed at solving problems that have been coming to a head for a long time.

Different associations—basically public, social and ecological ones—are now functioning literally in each city in the country and the republic. As the fruit of emancipated popular initiative, they are directed against bureaucratic tyranny, high-handed violations of social justice, and other abnormal results of the personality cult and times of stagnation that have still not been completely eliminated.

Here and there, however, currents, which are foreign to our system and which grow turbid because of an alien ideology, are flowing into this powerful and objectively necessary movement. There are really few cases today where possessing only one virtue—a well orchestrated language—socially infantile and apolitical people and even simply ideological renegades are trying to direct the masses using thoughts and deeds. That is why a recent Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee plenum posed the question of the need to investigate fully what moves specific persons and what serves as the reference points for their association. How spiritually and morally valuable are those positions toward whose achievement the attention of certain initiative groups are directed? In other words, are they working for our common cause or are they pursuing reactionary and extreme antihuman purposes that corrupt society.

All of these burning questions were the subject of an interested discussion during a seminar-conference recently held in Taldy-Kurgan on the problems of working with independent associations. Party, soviet and trade union workers and the directors of cultural, public education, physical culture, and sports agencies and the republic's public organizations participated in the conference. In particular, the following information was reported during it:

Approximately 100 independent initiative associations, whose status has not been spelled out by any statute or rules, are functioning in the republic. The majority of them are the so-called leisure groups that engage in athletics, gymnastics, karate, and roller skating. Others prefer an activity with an outlet in the political or social sphere. One must mainly relate associations of an ecological orientation and some soldier-internationalist and young reserve soldier clubs to these. Incidentally, the number of the latter is growing particularly noticeably. The large youth military patriotic formations are affiliated with them.

For the most part, all of these movements have a socially useful nature and completely satisfy public interests. However, they are not notable for their organizational strength and single-mindedness of actions. Individual associations often do not have even a clearly formulated work program, meet on a case by case basis and often disintegrate as soon as it comes to concrete matters.

A clear illustration of this is the almost fantastic event that occurred in one of the republic's oblast centers. A group of environmental protection enthusiasts developed enviable activity in the city. It exposed cases of excessive air pollution in housing areas and of water pollution in a river that flowed not far away. In connection with this, it organized a meeting that was crowded. However, when one of those present at the meeting suggested that a subbotnik for the fall planting of trees and the organization of public services and amenities on the banks be organized, its organizers ... retired to the background and began to say something about the "globalness" of their ideas and that they were not going to squander their talents on trifles. In general, excuse me for the pun, they went from planting trees into the bushes. This group—not surprisingly—soon broke up.

Everything new and progressive, as is known, is strengthened in the struggle against the old and the obsolete; this process is accompanied by many difficulties. Unfortunately, many of the participants in the public independent activity movement do not have the appropriate fighter qualities. There are also the costs of the period of stagnation. At the same time, something else is also alarming: Instead of initiative groups being helped, they are brushed off like troublesome flies, without even trying to delve into the essence of their proposals and demands. Moreover, attempts are sometimes made to beleaguer these "outrageous disturbers of tranquillity" in every way possible and take them in hand so that they will work within the usual bounds where critical situations do not arise; however, we will be frank, there are no noticeable positive changes.

Is it necessary to say that under these conditions problems are not so much solved as they are retouched into something more pleasant-looking? Against this background some leaders of independent formations, having at heart nothing more than ringing words, acquire the romantic halo of true fighters for restructuring in the eyes of the uninitiated.

One cannot fail to pay attention here to the fact that demagogues and every type of political intriguer and adventurer often use independent associations as a screen. Instances of the penetration of antisocial elements into various groups and clubs have become more frequent. These elements are trying to use the new work forms for mercenary purposes and are trying to establish all sorts of formations that take positions hostile to the Soviet system.

There are more than enough cases to illustrate what has been said. The activity of the notorious Pamyat, Otechestvo and Demokraticheskiy Soyuz "national patriotic" fronts, clubs and societies, which are allegedly being established—according to the statements of their organizers—to help and support restructuring, is well known to readers from the press. True, each one interprets the concept of help in a rather peculiar manner. For example, the Pamyat national patriotic club publicly came out in May-July of this year with slogans about prohibiting Russian people from marrying foreigners, immediately deporting Jews and other "aliens" to the regions of their "historic motherland", and fiercely struggling against those who conceal their "ethnic affiliation."

Evidently, the desire of the directors of such "patriotic" associations is to sell themselves by any means—more accurately, by acquiring political capital using questionable means and gambling on the temporary and unavoidable difficulties of restructuring.

After many years of stagnation and rude administration, this is similar to "intoxication" by glasnost and freedom. It is appropriate here to cite a parallel with compressed air which has, as is known, the property of "stirring up the blood." Is that not why, having received a fairly good portion of it, inexperienced motorcyclists increase speed more and more and why things do not always come to a satisfactory end? Apparently, such a condition often takes the form of anti-Soviet and antisocialist attacks in initiative groups if, of course, we are not talking about outright enemies of Soviet society.

Unfortunately, they exist. As an example, we will cite the declaration on which the people, who attempted to form one of these "fronts" in our republic, rely:

"We must announce to governments: We know that you are armed forces directed against the proletariat; we will act against you peacefully where it is possible for us to do so; and with arms—when it becomes necessary."

The most blasphemous thing is the fact that these are the words of K. Marx and that irresponsible people, who are trying to establish an alternative party, have armed themselves with them. Moreover, they lay claim to organizing an "effective center for consolidating the forces of restructuring's supporters and for providing practical and theoretical help to the country's democratic movement." Nothing more, nothing less! See how it is possible to use democracy, it appears!

Here is the goal of one group in the city of Dzhambul: "To go to Batumi and then move illegally into Turkey and join with neofascist currents. Later, having returned to the USSR, organize an illegal group called 'Soyuz i Progress' [Union and Progress] and commit systematic terrorist acts against party leaders, using weapons." As they say, comments here are superfluous!

In accordance with our deep convictions, society cannot "sleep" alongside such groups. It is necessary to enter more boldly into a frank and uncompromising discussion, unmask their criminal essence, demonstrate all its miserableness, and deprive this type of "activist" of nourishing soil. In a word, long and painstaking work lies ahead, but there is no other way. Naked banning can only evoke the opposite effect: We will receive—especially among the young—the apathy, disappointment and opposition to restructuring, which has left society over time and which, as we see, was far from harmless. Independent associations—these, you see, consist of our people, of our young men and women whose strength and energy can and must be used for the democratic transformation of society. Of course, it is easiest to achieve this by resolutely strengthening party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol influence in these groups.

The first steps along this path have already been taken in the republic. Since a considerable portion of the initiative formations are operating in youth surroundings, special attention has been mainly concentrated on studying and satisfying the needs and interests of young men and women.

For these purposes, more than 500 physical culture and sports clubs and approximately 400 associations of sports lovers and fans have opened during the last two years in places where people live in cities and villages. For the first time dune buggy and skate-board clubs have been organized and associations of football fans, where the fans are involved in regular classes on sports and social work, have been established for the so-called fanatics in teams of football experts. With their active help, the first republic mini-football tournament, in which 2,000 teams participated, has already been held.

Taldy-Kurgan has accumulated interesting experience in organizing leisure time for youth. There, for example, 38 basements have been re-equipped as clubs for special interest groups, gym-halls, disco-bars, and cafes. The city soviet ispolkom has allocated more than two and a half million rubles for this purpose during the current five-year plan. The majority of these clubs operate on a social basis, but methodologists from the city's cultural and sports complex, Komsomol leaders and gorkom economic work organizers in residential areas direct their activity. The participants in the seminar meeting visited these clubs and acquainted themselves with their new work forms.

Cultural establishments are making energetic efforts to strengthen their influence on independent formations of a musical orientation. Cost accounting youth associations, oblast and republic "Rock in the Struggle For Peace" festivals, and break-dancing contests and reviews serve to strengthen contacts with the "sponsors."

Kazakhstan's Komsomol Central Committee has also begun to act somewhat more energetically. A scientific practical conference was held in Ust-Kamenogorsk and a

republic seminar practicum with teachers—organizers of children's and teen-ager clubs—was held in Alma-Ata. Training with enthusiasts—public spirited people who work with minors—has been organized on the basis of the Ikar hang gliding club and the Okean military patriotic club.

These and other measures have helped to strengthen ideological and organizational influence on initiative groups noticeably and to define the tasks and range of their actions more clearly. At the same time, the activity of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol agencies in this regard has become more coordinated. As a result, support for the positive principles in the social independence movement has become more tangible and the struggle against negative tendencies within the ranks of the associations—more highly principled.

At the same time, we have not done without serious omissions from which it is necessary to extract the necessary lessons. For example, the functionaries of the All-Union Social and Political Club, Pamyat, and the Federation of Socialist Public Clubs have repeatedly tried to involve individual persons in a number of cities in active anti-Soviet activity. Their influence would have been far less if explanatory work had been organized among their "sponsors" in the appropriate manner and on the spot. This concerns, perhaps primarily, the republic's capital. Here, seven independent associations and groups, which have already outgrown purely environmental protection tasks in their activities, are engaged in ecological problems. Local agencies, however, are not hurrying to establish contacts with them. Moreover, they are even putting obstacles in the path of the activists of the mentioned groups, for example, the Zelenniy Front [Green Front], in implementing positive initiatives to improve the ecological situation. Meanwhile, attempts to direct their activity into the channel of active political opposition to official agencies have begun to be made in some groups. Under the pretext of failing to understand their people and suppressing self-expression, the ideas of withdrawing from the "ungrateful" world into the area of religiosity and mysticism are forcing themselves through in a number of cases.

A completely legitimate question arises: Where is the fiery party word which, as is known, is capable of arousing one to battle and to work. Perhaps, some of those, who have been called upon to be its bearer, have lost the gift of persuasion, having become accustomed to the silence of their private offices. However shameful it is, these party and soviet workers often abandon the field of ideological "battles"—and not at all heroically.

If this is possible in Alma-Ata, what is there to say about oblast centers or cities with a lower rank? Is this not one of the reasons that the illegal "activity" of many juveniles and youth associations is not lessening? It is true that adopted measures have broken up a number of groups inclined toward breaking the law and committing antisocial actions. Thus, two groups of "rock metalists",

which included youth who systematically disrupted public order, stopped their "work" in Kokchetav. Groups of juvenile "karate enthusiasts" in Guryev and of "culturalists [body builders]" in Tselinograd have distinguished themselves by the same thing.

S. D. Serikov, Kazakh SSR deputy minister for internal affairs, says: "Experience testifies that youth groupings of an antisocial orientation are the most 'dangerously explosive'. They are not numerous today, but they are the most alarming of the independent groups. You see, drug addicts, substance abusers, rowdy elements, and teen-agers, who find an alternative to social injustice in distorted ideological forms of activity, for example, in nationalism and chauvinism, are often members of them.

Many now recognize the danger of this phenomenon but, nevertheless, the fact is evident that official organizations are clearly not paying enough attention to youth associations of this type. Many of their leaders are unknown and there is no effective preventive work within these groups. Very close acquaintanceship with their composition shows that part of the leaders have had criminal proceedings instituted against them previously or are registered in the juvenile affairs inspectorates. For example, this concerns the "spiritual masters" of the Kvadrat [Square], Severnaya Krepost [Northern Fortress] and Shanghai groups who engaged in hooliganism and blackmail and who calmed down only after the interference of law enforcement agencies.

The voluntary societies, their republic councils, and public education agencies deserve a serious reproach here. It is primarily they who should unmask such teen-ager associations and help young men and women find their place in life correctly and discover truly useful work. Only by working together, is it possible to achieve improvements in the very difficult work with bad initiative groups.

In its complicated and difficult development, restructuring has left behind the stage of "meeting democracy." Today, it is necessary to take immediate and exhaustive

steps to overcome negative trends in the activity of independent formations.

To do this, it is necessary to resolutely strengthen ideological influence on them, rebuff extremist elements, and not be afraid of frank discussions on the most critical and complicated questions of our life. In this regard, it is necessary to stress individual work (since practice shows this is the most effective) and skillfully combine it with other forms. The directing of social activity into a positive channel is the duty of everyone who is engaged in some way or other with the problems of independent associations. It is necessary to use every opportunity to involve initiative groups and their leaders in conscientious and interested participation in socialist renewal.

There is only one political criteria in working with independent associations and various clubs and initiative groups. Any social activity, which is conducted within the framework of the USSR Constitution and which does not contradict the interests of our society's development, deserves recognition. Moreover, it is necessary to support in every way possible all those formations whose activity is aimed at the people's good and our common cause—the advancement of restructuring.

Independent associations are today's reality. This reality is a complicated and contradictory one that changes its forms literally with kaleidoscope swiftness. In this situation, everyone—party and soviet agencies, trade unions, the Komsomol, and law enforcement establishments—must teach. It is necessary to be able to react swiftly and correctly to the dynamics of situations, events and phenomena, not be brushed aside in any instance and not stand aside from anything unusual and uncommon.

Undoubtedly, there is something else: It is necessary for all of us to learn how to listen to an opponent's voice and not treat it with deliberate prejudice and bias. The conference, which was recently held in Orel, pointed out that socialist pluralism of opinions, constructive dialogue, creative discussion, a sober comparison of views are the only correct way to search for the best and optimum solutions to the programs outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Latvian People's Front Discussed

Attempts to Discredit Front Decried
18000306 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
29 Nov 88 p 3

[Article from LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, No 48, 25 Nov 88, under the rubric "Point of View": "Responsibility Also to the People"]

[Text]Recent events linked to the discussion of the new draft laws of the USSR concern us. A situation has actually developed in which the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet can partially or completely reject our proposals pertaining to the draft legislation, leaving Latvia without legal guarantees of its sovereign existence.

Giving in to the fears of certain comrades of "applying pressure" on the USSR Supreme Soviet, the republic's highest agency of power has made it possible for the citizens of Latvia to be degraded, making our fate dependent not upon our own will, but on external forces, not all of them clearly disposed toward us by far. The situation is complicated even more by the fact that, as we know, at its latest session the USSR Supreme Soviet passed antidemocratic decrees on the holding of meetings, demonstrations and mass rallies and on special detachments of internal troops, and further attempts by us to protect our homeland's future could be crudely and unexpectedly thwarted. The policy of acting out of fear of "making waves" has brought all of us up against possible catastrophe.

We were literally done in by the helplessness and incompetence of most of the deputies in questions pertaining to the procedure for this, and no specific proposals were prepared to be discussed and put to a vote.

We are not talking about a possible amendment to the Constitution, as the Estonian Parliament, for example, dared to do, or of draft legislation, although we should confirm in a separate resolution or a declaration our basic position on the matter of sovereignty and establish our preparedness to return to the issue if our arguments are not taken into account at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We would thereby stipulate our right to stick to our point of view.

The session, during which the Duma of the People's Front was forbidden to present such a document, forces us to perceive this as a specific trend which, it seems to us, is manifested also in other actions directed against the republic's sovereignty and the NFL [Latvian People's Front]. Because of this we consider it necessary to address several questions to the republic's leadership. In the first place, what accounts for the passive attitude of the leadership toward individuals attempting to discredit the NFL and the movement for a restructuring in Latvia in the eyes of the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Politburo member V. Medvedev, casting

suspicion on Comrade A. Yakovlev and not abashed by an undisguised lie which even contains accusations against the republic's leadership. Are these individuals being held accountable?

In the second place, who benefited during the meeting at the Alfa Production Association by giving individuals expressing the views of the Interfront group the opportunity to speak, thereby giving the meeting a specific orientation? Who organized that meeting and was responsible for the way it developed?

In the third place, why were the actions of the People's Front and its chairman, D. Ivans, given such an unequivocally negative assessment both in editorials in the party newspapers and in a decree passed by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee? The prestige of that mass movement is being undermined in the present social and political situation, and a distorted image of its objectives is being created in the eyes of representatives of other nationalities both within and outside of the republic. At the same time, the schismatic activities of Interfront are evaluated as positive, and the right of representation of this pseudo-organization and its ability to produce the ideas and proposals essential for the restructuring are being acknowledged. Its potential danger to the very essence of the restructuring and the possibility of consolidation is totally ignored, however.

In the fourth place, how does the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee regard the article by Procurator Ya. Dzenitis in the 9 November issue of PRAVDA, in which he levels accusations at the republic's mass media and casts suspicion upon our people, the majority of whom have expressed a negative (principled) attitude toward the tenor of the draft legislation and confirmed this with hundreds of thousands of signatures? We ask the republic's ideological leadership to speak out against the trend in the All-Union press to discredit the NFL and promote anti-Latvian sentiments.

We feel that the authority of the republic's leadership is under substantial threat, that opinion regarding its ability to represent the interests of Latvia's citizens has been shaken in the society, that there could once again emerge a rift between the leadership and the people like the one which previously developed but was allegedly overcome. In this situation we consider it essential to take certain steps to improve the moral climate in the republic and achieve a situation in which the anticipated Peoples' Forum will not turn into empty and demagogic propaganda of the Interfront positions on the questions of language, citizenship and cultural development.

We call upon the republic's leadership not to give in to the influence of hostile forces on the republic's legal interests and to speak out with great certitude for the concept of sovereignty mutual to the fate of Latvia's peoples and to carry out specific measures for implementing this concept.

Speaking for the readers of LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, we call upon the republic's leadership to demonstrate their responsibility not just to the organs of central power, but also to the people.

LaSSR Supsov Deputy Responds

18000306 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
29 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Ayvar Dambis, construction brigade leader in the Lati-zhstroymekhanizatsiya Trust and deputy in the LaSSR Supreme Soviet: "The Restructuring Is Accomplished With Action"]

[Text] Habits, stereotypes and old methods are very tenacious. I do not consider that surprising. That which has become established and persistently worked its way into the minds of people over dozens of years cannot be neutralized or eliminated in a single day, of course. The restructuring process—in the economy, culture and the social area—is a lengthy process, and we cannot count on rapid success. All the more, since every move must be carefully considered. Impatience and haste have never led to anything good.

I was reminded of old habits and methods when I read the editorial in LITERATURA UN MAKSLA. The party has proclaimed unequivocally that there must be no areas of our life closed to criticism. Recently, however, one has noticed a strange trend whereby any comments about the Latvian People's Front are perceived by some people as nothing other than attempts "to discredit the NFL and promote the emergence of anti-Latvian sentiments." What is this, a new area closed to criticism?

I do not intend to comment about every paragraph in the editorial. You have it in front of you, and you can derive the proper conclusions. I have to share the thoughts and feelings it evoked in me, however. Although LITERATURA UN MAKSLA deny that I, a deputy to the LaSSR Supreme Soviet, and other deputies are competent, I cannot remain indifferent to the assessment it contains of the republic's highest agency of popular power.

The dramatizing of the situation which has developed in Latvia clearly shows through not just in this article, but in other articles published in the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA as well, and in certain other publications. Also in programs broadcast by our television. When it comes to some public group other than the NFL, its activities are "schismatic." If the advice of the NFL is not followed, this brings us up against catastrophe...."

There is no denying the fact that many political, economic, social and ecological problems have now moved to the fore and alarmed our entire society. Incidentally, most of them have been brought out by the party. These problems are sometimes presented in such a way that the tone of articles, radio and television programs increases tensions and exacerbates international relations.

When one reads statements by individual NFL activists—and also those of certain journalists, by the way—one cannot help concluding that all three Baltic republics have undertaken something like a competition with one another as to who will be the first to demand certain radical measures. One must keep up with the neighbors! In my opinion, this is a questionable rivalry. All the more, since there are forces in the Baltic area which, yearning nostalgically for an illusory past, would like to convert the population to their belief and attempt to demonstrate that everything which existed prior to 1940 can and should be viewed only through rose-colored glasses. This position is clearly a counterforce to the existing socialist system and the realities of life.

The program of the People's Front states in black and white:

"The NFL opposes any monopolization of power, views and ideas...."

"Participation in the NFL is incompatible with the promotion of Stalinist, fascist or any other authoritarian views, with support of bureaucratic administration by means of orders and decrees, with the promotion of racism, nationalism, religious or any other kind of hatred or intolerance, and with support of violence. The NFL uses democratic, constitutionally recognized methods...."

"The NFL does not attempt to assume the functions of any state agencies or to take the place of any other public organizations."

"The functioning of the NFL is based on common human values, humanism and pluralism of views, respect for the rights of all peoples, social justice, respect for human beings and protection of their lawful interests."

These are good and true ideas. The objectives are fine. Upon reading the article in LITERATURA UN MAKSLA, however, one has the impression that the editors have forgotten these declarations in the NFL program and are creating obstructions to the republic's leadership.

As a worker, I am surprised that when demanding the restoration of Latvia's sovereignty, the authors of such articles constantly omit the word "Soviet." And they do not add to these demands: sovereignty within the Union of SSRs. By failing to mention the Soviet Socialist Federation, they dramatize the situation even more. And the impression is created that Latvia is so powerful it is capable of resolving all problems itself, without the participation of other Union republics. A dangerous delusion!

I have worked on the construction of almost all the new housing tracts in Riga. And I know that it would have been impossible to erect these blocks as rapidly as they were built without being a member of the unified economic complex of the USSR. We are provided with both machinery and construction materials. The republic

could not provide them itself. Attempts were made to resolve the housing problem in the past, prior to the restructuring. Brick buildings were rejected for the sake of this, and large-panel housing construction was adopted. Today, however, people demand not only rapid construction, but also good quality. The people want convenient and comfortable apartments and not simply "stone sleeping bags."

Today, we want to see Latvia with a good standard of living, with adequate food and a broad selection of consumer goods, with a normal ecological situation. In the situation of democratization we talk about this at full voice, discussing questions which we were afraid even to ask in the past. It is not enough simply to talk, argue and discuss, however. All of the "i's" will be dotted in the debates, to be sure: how to avoid distortions in economic policy in the future, how to rectify the demographic situation. It is time to stop talking and take specific action, however. The republic's leadership and its workers who have entered into the restructuring need real, effective support. Otherwise, the dreams will remain dreams.

The party and soviet organs do not restrict public organizations in their attempts to make life better. Only one thing is demanded of them—that they discard the demagogy, which still surfaces fairly frequently, and intelligently determine the best solutions to all urgent problems. This particularly demands those principles proclaimed in the program: I had a reason for such extensive citing of that document. Unfortunately, the editorial published in the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSĻA clearly shows, not all of the proponents and defenders of the NFL's program adhere to it.

The appeal to speak out against the criticism of certain NFL actions "observed in the All-Union press"—is that not a manifestation of intolerance of pluralism of opinions? I would reproach the central press for something else: It has still not published a detailed study of economic interrelations among the Union republics. The absence of such information engenders vainglorious "ideas" about the republic's separation and false assertions—to use an old expression, "we weren't born yesterday," they give us to understand.

Some people are now criticizing the latest session of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet because, you see, they did not consider the signatures on the document submitted by the NFL's Duma, hundreds of thousands of signatures. Unfortunately, the collection of the signatures does not stand up under criticism: the document was signed with a flourish both by school children who simply do not understand the politics and by adults who managed to sign their names three or four times—at the store, at work, at their place of residence, at the health clinic....

We deputies voted for proposed draft legislation worked out by the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet together with leading legal specialists. Incidentally, the

specialists included members of the NFL Duma. We know from the press that our opinions were in great part taken into account in Moscow.

We voted just as actively in the past for the establishment of national symbols, for making Latvian the state language in our republic. And the deputies include not just Latvians, but representatives of many other nationalities as well. So what is the basis for such an absolute assertion that the authority of the republic's leadership is under substantial threat? A groundless statement!

Prior to a battle in the Great Patriotic War, one frequently heard: "Communists, to the front!" To be out front is the main privilege of each party member. It is his duty. I feel that today too the Communists must be in the front ranks of the restructuring and remove from the rational grains of any public movement the verbal chaff which can hamper the great cause of renewing the entire Soviet society.

President of Popular Front Counters Criticism of Congress

18000136 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
20 Oct 88 p 2

[Interview with Daynis Ivans, president of the National Front of Latvia, by A. Grigoryan, correspondent of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA: "The Popular Front of Latvia: The First Days After the Congress"; date and place not specified; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA introduction]

[Text] Responses to the founding congress of the Popular Front of Latvia (PFL) that has taken place have occupied the central place in the editorial mail of the past week. Hundreds of letters have been devoted to it. We are publishing a part of the letters today and will continue to do so in the future. As far as the most acute questions are concerned that agitate the majority of the authors of the letters, we have asked the chairman of the PFL, Daynis Ivans, to answer them.

[Grigoryan] What all the same, the authors of the letters ask, are the role and place of the new movement in the political structure of our society?

[Ivans] A mass movement has been formed. Let us together try to determine its "genealogy", its scale and significance. The PFL owes its appearance to the socio-political climate of restructuring. So that the new movement is not "a gift of fate," not anything extraordinary, but the law-governed development of the processes to improve our society that were begun, I will recall once again, by the party.

[Grigoryan] But the authors of the letters noted some differences between the movement and the party, both in terms of point of view and in terms of methods of activity. And they ask: "Are we not facing an opposition?"

[Ivans] No, the PFL is not an opposition! The Popular Front is the ally and assistant of the party, since it fully supports restructuring. Quite a few of the practical proposals expressed in the course of the preparation for the congress received a positive assessment of the communists and the public of the republic. This is indicative of the aspiration to genuine sovereignty of the people. We understand increasingly better that society, without changing, cannot satisfy the growing demands of the people. Thus the following can be said about the PFL: The Front is called upon to balance and to enrich social and political life, true, also complicating it. And this, evidently, also explains the intensified reaction which we are experiencing.

[Grigoryan] And how many party members are in the PFL?

[Ivans] One-third of our members are communists.

[Grigoryan] You are talking about the entire Front or about the Council (Duma)?

[Ivans] As far as the Duma is concerned, this is precise. But approximately the same ratio holds for the PFL as a whole, which now has about 150,000 members. Among them are people representing the most diverse groups of the population and strata of society. There are people whose views sharply diverge from the views of the communists. But we have a common program. We have started to put it into effect, so that, I think, very soon we will see who really shares it and fights for its realization, and who joined us being guided by egotistic or narrow group interests.

[Grigoryan] Yes, concrete activity is the best indicator for the determination of who is who in the National Front. All of this is so. But nevertheless, part of our readers put the question point-blank what it is called: Popular front or national front?

[Ivans] Popular! I assert this without any reservations, without aspiring to explain the pointed reaction only at the cost of translation. And at the same time, I must also apologize for the inaccuracies in the translation, apropos of which I have received a number of angry phone calls. I myself heard how a young female translator, due to lack of experience and not intentionally, called the front Latvian. But it unites (and strives to do so) the representatives of all nationalities living on the territory of the Latvian SSR.

[Grigoryan] Can this idea be illustrated with statistical material?

[Ivans] Up to now, the majority in our ranks consists of Latvians. About 12 percent are non-Latvians.

[Grigoryan] Okay, then one more question related to the preceding one: Will you try to involve representatives of

the non-indigenous nationality. And if so, in what way? Or, perhaps, thus: Let them ripen themselves?

[Ivans] Of course. Above all, we will acquaint them with the program and the statute. These materials have been published in the press. Having found out what we want and for what we intend to fight, a concrete choice can be made—to organize a support group at one's enterprise or at the place of residence. Support is being extended to the Popular Front, for example, by a number of societies, whose members are organized on the basis of nationality attributes—Polish, Jewish, Ukrainian. . . . Soon after the first session of the Duma (it will take place on 22 October) a forum of the peoples of Latvia will be summoned.

[Grigoryan] Inter-nationality relations is one of the most acute subjects of the discussions now under way. People, for example, turn to us who, not perceiving the possibility of coming to a fruitful dialogue within the framework of the PFL, propose to create an alternative International Front. The first groups taking the initiative have been created.

[Ivans] It pains me very much (in this case I am not accusing anyone, but merely establish the fact) that we ourselves frequently miss the opportunity for serious movement ahead. In my view, an atmosphere has now been created in the republic where one can work for the good of all citizens living in the territory of the republic. And we are losing time for elucidation on the basis of principle, who said what to whom. It goes without saying, here the intelligentsia is also at fault, both the Latvian and the Russian-speaking intelligentsia. We have been silent for a long time, timidly avoiding sharp points of view. Now we have started to talk all at once and very loudly. In a chorus, alas, quite a few false voices have turned up.

[Grigoryan] Quite a few are worried by the problem of the so-called migrants. And after the congress such questions were heard: "What, time to pack the suitcases?"

[Ivans] Thus the question was never posed by the Popular Front. Such a turn of the acute, even painfully acute, subject is the most absolute provocation.

Another matter is the problem of the discontinuance of immigration. I think that all inhabitants of Latvia are interested in the control of this process, which up to now is being regulated very poorly. If we attain this, all will be better off. Look at how housing is now being distributed, if you will. During the past year, of the total number of those who received apartments, 22 percent were in line before 1980, 61 percent waited their turn for less than 7 years, and 17 percent were not in line at all. It is difficult to call such a situation just. And should not the inhabitants of the republic enjoy advantages (I repeat, outside of any dependence on nationality), who live here permanently, or, let us say, for 15-20 years and more, and who

have done much more for the creation of the social infrastructure than those who have come recently?

Let us look at how great the vacillations of the migration pendulum are. Every year 130,000 people on the average come to Latvia, and 120,000 leave. The difference comes to 11,000-12,000—the size of the population of a small rayon center. Such a burden is one of the reasons for the interruptions in the supply of food products observed in the past few years. If we generalize, the surplus immigration has become one of the obstacles impeding the improvement of the quality of life of all citizens of the republic.

[Grigoryan] Then let us look into how, in such a case, we are to understand citizenship. Alarm is called forth apropos of this by the following considerations: Is the Front not proposing to defend the kind of status of citizen which will be converted into an instrument for the determination of "superfluous people," the restriction of the latter in their constitutional rights to participation in political and cultural life, the obtaining of an education and work in accordance with their profession, etc.

[Ivans] By no means! Up to now there is no law on citizenship at all. In my understanding, it should, first of all, provide for the legal defense of the citizen of a republic (I once again repeat: Regardless of nationality). How to realize this in practice? Here variants are possible. They should be carefully adjusted and subjected to nationwide, unhurried, discussion. Well, let us say the following: All those will receive citizenship who at the moment of the introduction of the status, have permanent registration.

[Grigoryan] And those who have newly arrived? . . .

[Ivans] For them a residence qualification of reasonable length should be established. During this period, the person can demonstrate that the choice of a new place of residence is not accidental. Such an approach not only does not infringe on anyone's rights, but, on the contrary, will make it possible to realize social guarantees more fully. In Estonia they are already practicing a differentiated approach (a different minimum of square meters per person) in the arrangement of the waiting list for the improvement of housing conditions depending on the length of residence in the republic.

[Grigoryan] Today, perhaps, there are a few who object to the expansion of the limits of the political and economic independence of the union republics, including Latvia. But the very atmosphere of the congress and some statements heard at it led to the fact that some of our readers perceived a tendency toward separatism. Let us clear up this aspect as well.

[Ivans] First of all it must be said that here we are running into a tangle which, it would appear, has not avoided your readers. We are, indeed, talking about the

sovereignty of the republic, and we don't have to be afraid of this word. That is, about the possibility to solve all important problems ourselves. First of all, by constitutional methods, and, secondly, within the boundaries of the Soviet Union and with regard to all-union interests. The Latvians should be the masters of their land, but all the other citizens of the republic, regardless of their nationality, too. So that the idea of the insistence of the PFL on the slogan "Latvia is only for Latvians" is mistaken. In general such a formulation of the question is illegitimate. Let us remember that there was never a situation where only Latvians lived in the territory of Latvia. Thus, in 1937 the latter amounted to 75 percent of the population. But at the same time, Latvians cannot be but alarmed about the threat of being transformed into a minority on their own territory. And this also must be understood. Thus, if the principle of the sovereignty of the republic is realized, we can ourselves decide how we will live, we feel that the level of our prosperity depends on our efforts. Precisely this is the basic goal of regional economic accountability, the model for which is now being developed jointly with representatives of Estonia and Lithuania.

[Grigoryan] Perhaps, the concern apropos of this arose because of the fact that at the congress no calm and businesslike discussion of the principle of economic independence took place. By the way, such a point of view was expressed also by Yanis Peters in his interview with the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH. Do you agree with him?

[Ivans] I agree. At the congress emotions also manifested themselves, moreover, at times they went too far. Psychologically, this is explainable: For too long, people were silent, for this reason some, I suppose, some expressed themselves in a temper. When the floodgates open, the flow becomes uncontrollable. But this does not justify immature conclusions.

And still we must not accent attention only on the splash of emotions and the costs connected with it. Otherwise we will throw out the baby with the bathwater. And, you see, at the congress quite a lot was said that was rational and that deserves attention and support. Not mutual resentments must rule us, but the concern about our common present and future. I think that nothing can cross out the obvious fact that the founding congress of the PFL is an appreciable step toward the development of the necessary procedures which will become a counterweight to the bureaucratic distortions of the principles and goals of restructuring and to departmental dictate, will help us to develop an economy oriented to man, improving the environment where he lives, and not multiplying the ecological problems. Here are points of contact for all strata and groups of the population of Latvia, this is the line of the "Front", which does not separate but unifies all of its inhabitants.

[Grigoryan] But the reaction about which we spoke is not accidental. The most delicate and naked nerve of internationality relations was touched. If I may be frank,

there is also the following point of view: One only needs to raise objections in regard to how the members of the Front propose to solve the inter-nationality problems, and at once the labels are stuck on people: "Stagnator." "Stalinist," . . .

[Ivans] We know about this, and we know that such painful reactions were called forth by some statements from the platform of the founding congress. What can one say here? The organizational committee of the congress did not carry out a selection, did not edit the statements beforehand. Moreover, a completely fortuitous man—I. Chizhevskiy from Kraslava—found himself on the platform, whose statement called forth a very strong disturbance. It turns out, this person does not represent a single one of the PFL support groups created in the rayon.

[Grigoryan] We will touch on such a facet as the social composition of the PFL. If the Front is popular, then why are there so few workers and kolkhoz farmers among its members?

[Ivans] Those who join do not face any obstacles with respect to social membership. Whoever wants to may join. It is another matter that the intelligentsia has manifested the greatest interest. . . .

[Grigoryan] They also ask why the list of candidates was practically equal to the number of members of the PFL Duma?

[Ivans] This is explained, above all, by the fact that the supporting groups nominated the candidates, and they did not yet know who is capable for what, which is why the number of the aspirants for a seat in the Duma was small. As far as the procedure proper for the nomination and election are concerned, it is not something that is given once and for all. It will change depending on the demands of life and on our experience. This also applies to the basic documents that were adopted at the congress. We must verify them in operation in order to understand what to change and in what direction. I repeat: The PFL is a completely new organism, moreover one which is growing, it is naive to foresee all of the forms of its growth ahead of time. But a part is possible, with the help of councils and proposals, those who have joined us and those who continue to join us. Many of them were taken into account directly at the congress. The editorial commission, which was headed by experienced lawyers, worked intensively and at the same time accurately and calmly, specially if compared with the hall, in which a different atmosphere prevailed.

[Grigoryan] Yes, the difference was noted. This is indicated by the assessment given by the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro: Many people today cannot understand where the face of the Front is more faithfully reflected—in its programmatic documents or in the atmosphere which reigned at the congress. They are perplexed because those who wanted to raise objections to the

extremists did not receive the chance to speak. Hence the question: Is the Front open for criticism?

[Ivans] Of course, it is open. It is not protected against it by any screen and I am the president of the PFL. The reaction, coming to us through feedback channels, is an indispensable condition for the development of a public organization. We will without fail react to the criticism, we will discuss. People who do not agree with us, I think, we will invite to an open discussion. We will publish our newspaper in Latvian and Russian. Plus radio and television broadcasts. We hope they will be constant. The session of the Duma, I suggest, will be conducted with the doors open. Representatives of the party and soviet organs, journalists. . . will be invited to them.

[Grigoryan] Through what means will the Popular Front attain the solution of the formulated tasks?

[Ivans] Through various means. One of them is the appeal to the government of the republic—an official appeal. Control over the course the fulfillment of the decision adopted—legal expert opinion on the stage of its discussion or preparation. . . . Being a public organization, the PFL can nominate its own candidates for deputy, take part in the contests for the replacement of vacant positions, not only nominating "its own" candidates, but also supporting the candidates "of others."

[Grigoryan] The PFL will not attain perceptible results if it will not become the platform for a dialogue between representatives of all groups and strata of the population. In the opposite case, it will already not be a popular front. . . .

[Ivans] To achieve this is not easy. But we simply do not have any other way out. We are expected to come up with practical proposals, to join in the process of overcoming shortcomings. Having, in the course of the discussion, defined the common goal and the path for its attainment, the PFL must direct its entire authority and influence to its achievement.

[Grigoryan] Such a dialogue will simultaneously also be the best proof of the fact that the Popular Front directs its forces and energy to the unification of progressive forces fighting for restructuring.

[Ivans] There is no alternative to such a union. As there is no alternative to restructuring. The comprehension of this, at first glance, simple understanding, will help, on the one hand, to get rid of the illusion that all problems can be solved exclusively on a national basis, and, on the other, to take into consideration the fact that the solution of the economic and other tasks must proceed with regard to the national peculiarities of the republic.

It is simply necessary to look for mutually acceptable points of view. And the Popular Front can and must

become the basis for such a search, for a socially-oriented dialogue leading to the consolidation of the progressive forces of society.

[Grigoryan] Thank you for the discussion.

Readers' Letters on Lithuanian As State Language

Discussion of Constitutional Revision

18000195 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
6 Oct 88 p 2

[Letters by G. Manzuovas, docent at the Vilnius State Pedagogical Institute; V. Petrov, Panevezhis; K. Garshva, secretary of the Council for the Functioning of the Russian Language in the Lithuanian SSR at the Presidium of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences; and V. Kuzmitskas, member of the support group of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring: "Language—As the Basis for the Mutual Understanding and Cooperation of Peoples"; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA LITVA introduction]

[Text] The question of the introduction, in the LiSSR Constitution, of an article on the recognition of the Lithuanian language as the state language and the problems connected with this, which was raised in the pages of the press by some scholars and writers, elicited a great deal of mail from readers. Today we are publishing some of the most typical letters in abbreviated form.

It seems to me that in the conditions of democratization, glasnost, and the necessity of taking into account the opinion of the public, the questions of language are subject to general discussion and cannot be solved in offices, like in the years of stagnation.

At the same time, I would like to express some observations with respect to the declaration of the Lithuanian language as the state language. I would like to mention at once that the author of these lines is fluent in both the Russian and the Lithuanian language.

The anchoring, in the LiSSR Constitution, of the Lithuanian language as the state language is the affair not only of the population of the native nationality, but of all the workers of the republic. In the majority of labor collectives (especially of collectives of workers) a Lithuanian-Russian bilingualism has naturally taken shape. The Russian language is used as the language of inter-nationality intercourse in these collectives, and that situation does not call forth any conflicts.

In the articles being published in the press, there are extensive explanations of the significance of the national language and weighty arguments are advanced in favor of the proclamation of the Lithuanian language as the state language. And it is hardly worthwhile to dispute this. However, here the question of Lithuanian-Russian

bilingualism is in essence avoided. Obviously, with the declaration of the Lithuanian language as the state language, there must also be legislative stipulation of the existence of Lithuanian-Russian bilingualism and the place of the Russian language as the language of inter-nationality intercourse in the republic, where 70 nationalities live.

G. Manzuovas,
Docent at the Vilnius State Pedagogical Institute
Vilnius

...

In my view, we must begin the discussion with a precise legal interpretation of this term—"state language"—and the spheres of its application. In my opinion, a great many questions are answered by the article "Not State, but Inter-Nationality," which was published in the newspaper. In the relations on the level of the supreme state organs, union ministries, enterprises, and all relations between republics, it is impossible to cope without a single language.

All other language relations within a republic, these are not only the right, but traditions that have taken shape, which it is difficult to change through a single legislative act. And here the opinion of every nationality should be taken into account. V. Petrov Panevezhis

...

Russians and Poles in Lithuania have schools in their native language, a press, radio broadcasts, etc., but in Kaliningrad Oblast they do not have anything similar. At the expense of what broadcasts—Russian language or Lithuanian language broadcasts—is the introduction of broadcasts in Polish on Lithuanian television being planned? Why have even radio broadcasts for Lithuanians in Poland been stopped? The status of the Lithuanian language must protect the Lithuanians from becoming transformed into people who have a poor command of their native language, and it cannot persecute people speaking another language, whose equality is guaranteed by the constitutions of the USSR and the LiSSR.

K. Garshva,
Secretary of the Council for the Functioning of the
Russian Language
in the Lithuanian SSR
At the Presidium of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences.
Vilnius

...

With similar letters many of our readers have lately been turning to the editors. Many of them, such as A. Prokoshev, Smotkin, V. Tereshin, and L. Polonskiy have expressed a number of interesting observations on the problems of bilingualism, but, since the authors stipulated, as a condition, the full publication, without abridgement, of their very lengthy letters, and the editors find it impossible to do so, we have the most typical questions being raised in the letters.

These questions are the following:

1. If a law on language will be adopted, how will this reflect on the inhabitants of Lithuania who do not have a command of this language?
2. What will become of the Russian language in Lithuania, by means of which all the remaining population communicates, including the Lithuanians when they move beyond the borders of the republic?
3. Will this not lead to national seclusion, will this not make it more difficult for specialists to come to Lithuania whom the republic itself is not training, but for whom it has a need, and does this not impede Lithuanians in their access to the cultural values of the other peoples of the country, will it not be an obstacle to enrollment in the VUZes beyond the boundaries of the republic?
4. How should we treat the words of M. S. Gorbachev concerning the bilingualism that has developed in the republics?
5. Already now there is an increase in the frequency of cases of the oppression of people who do not have a command of the Lithuanian language. How can such cases be avoided?

The editors asked Professor B. Kuzmitskas, department head of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences to answer all of these questions.

The process of restructuring in the republic is acquiring increasingly concrete conceptual contours. Proposals for the restructuring of the economy, the perfection of the Constitution, etc., are being developed by special commissions. Within the framework of the constitutional-legal guarantees of the sovereignty of the republic, it is planned also to determine the status of the Lithuanian language.

Along with the approval of these drafts by the people of the republic, one also hears voices expressing concern about whether in doing so the rights of other peoples living in Lithuania will not be infringed, and their languages, whether the national-Russian bilingualism is not suffering. Someone is raising the question: Will not the inter-nationality relations in our republic become aggravated from this?

The completely understandable and natural aspiration of citizens to preserve their national distinctiveness, national traditions and cultural values, among which the native language occupies an exceptional place, is expressed in anxiety of that sort. But the expression of anxiety is also produced by the lack of knowledge, on the part of many citizens, of the essence of the proposed amendments to the Constitution, including the amendments relating to the status of the national language in

the republic, and by the lack of knowledge of the position of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring on the national and language questions.

Those who themselves have a feeling of responsibility for the fate of their language and culture obviously will understand and respect an analogous feeling in representatives of other nationalities. The project of constitutionally legalizing the Lithuanian language as the state language of the republic is called forth, above all, by feelings of profound anxiety and concern on the part of the majority of Lithuanians with the position in which their native language finds itself at the present time. The Lithuanian language is gradually being supplanted or has been excluded from many spheres of public life, such as state government, party work, science, as well as the militia, railway communication, etc. In many spheres of life, the principle of national-Russian bilingualism is not being observed, and the indigenous inhabitants of the republic, when dealing with many authorities, cannot make themselves understood in their own native language. There is not a single reason for such a state of the language. The main reason is the super-centralized system of administration, which subjects the economy, partly also the system of public education, and the science of the republic to bureaucratic ministries and departments, and the absence of real sovereignty in the republic.

The expulsion of the language from the public life diminishes its social significance and its prestige. The significance of culture, created on the basis of this language, is also diminishing. Such a language situation represents a quite real danger for a not numerous people living in a multi-national state. The danger of the loss of national distinctiveness, the decline of culture, assimilation and disappearance. The Lithuanian people has bitter historical experience, when, because of the lack of the necessary social status of the language, entire social strata of the people and entire of its territories were assimilated.

The law on the state status of the Lithuanian language would also be conducive to the creation of a real language balance in the republic and would secure the full-fledged social functioning of the language of the indigenous nationality of the republic. It is because of the lack of knowledge of the question that the supposition arises that such a law could somehow be irreconcilable with the interests of the other peoples living in the republic.

The Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring perceives the essence of such a law in seeing to it that in all civil institutions the Lithuanian and Russian languages would function to an equal degree; it would be mandatory for the officials of institutions to have a knowledge of both languages. The law would guarantee within the boundaries of the republic, the use of the Lithuanian language as the official language of office-work in all spheres of public life and would guarantee the inhabitants of the

indigenous nationality the possibility of making themselves understood in their native language everywhere in their republic and on the soil of their forefathers.

At the same time, the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring is resolutely advocating that all peoples living in the republic, not only Russians and Poles, but also Latvians, Jews, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Karaites, Tatars and others should have or, if they wish, could have schools and cultural organizations in their native language, could propagate the values of their national culture and raise their young generation on their basis. To an equal degree it should be attained that the possibility is secured to instruct children in their native language, to develop the national culture and to develop the national culture also for Lithuanians living in compact groups in the fraternal republics—in Belorussia, Latvia, and Kaliningrad Oblast.

The representatives of the Movement are convinced of the fact that it is the civic and moral duty of all Lithuanians to respect the language of all peoples living in the republic, to help them develop their culture, and to preserve their cultural heritage. But for national equality it is necessary for the representatives of other peoples to recognize the right of the indigenous people to be concerned about their historical survival, the preservation of their language and culture on their land inherited from their forefathers. In cases of nationality tensions it is necessary to lay bare and openly discuss their reasons, and through joint efforts to search for ways of eliminating these reasons. You see, the difficulties which we will have to overcome on the road to restructuring and our goals are common ones.

B. Kuzmitskas,

Member of the support group of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring.

State Status Advocated

18000195 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
20 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[Letter by V. Kliunene, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet: "For the Lithuanian Language—State Status"]

[Text] The free and natural functioning of the national language in the various spheres of life is an indispensable condition for the existence of every people. From the early years, the formation of man is connected with language. The perception of the environment and self-perception are expressed in the words of the native language. The development of thinking, imagination, and feelings are inalienable from the development of speech. The native language becomes the same reality of existence as mother, father, native territory, and the Motherland. Language is the medium in which national customs, art, science, culture, and national self-consciousness arise, are developed, and attain their flowering. For this reason the aspiration of the peoples to take care of their language, to be concerned about its preservation and perfection is understandable.

The ideas of restructuring and the revitalization of society have attracted the attention of many people to the problems of language. In the years of Soviet power in the republic, scientists, writers and other cultural figures have done a great deal for the cultivation of high standards of speech and for the preservation of the Lithuanian language in the various spheres of life. However, the methods of reliance on orders and decrees, which took root during the period of the Time of Stalin and the subsequent years of the deformation of socialism, held back not only the development of the economy, but also of culture, and infringed on vitally important interests of the peoples. And in our republic the principles of the free and harmonious development of language and of mutually respectful bilingualism were not always observed. The functions and use of the Lithuanian language were narrowed in the various spheres of the activity of the state and society, in the documentation of many departments, in science, production, and the service sphere. In such a situation, there has been an intensification of the negative influence of other languages on the Lithuanian language. The incorrect use of the Lithuanian language and the violation of the laws of the language have become widespread. The spontaneous confusion of languages and the unjustified replacement of one language by another have on the whole lowered the prestige of literate speech and have done damage to the speech standards of other peoples living in Lithuania. In their turn, the distortions of the language have hampered the development of the creative forces of society and the growth of its intellectual level. Thus the disorders with the language have in part also slowed down the development of national culture. Anxiety has arisen in society with respect to the state of the native language. In various forms, this is expressed by scientists, writers, cultural figures, representatives of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, and public organizations. Proposals to recognize the Lithuanian language as the state language of the LiSSR have been advanced more actively. This idea fully corresponds to the principles of international relations and cooperation of Soviet peoples formulated by V. I. Lenin. The founder of the Soviet state aspired to the consolidation of Soviet statehood with regard to national conditions, to the development of courts, administration, economic and governmental organs, utilizing the native language in their work, where people would work who know the way of life of the local population and understand its psychology, and he stood for the use of the native language in the press, schools, theaters and other cultural and educational links.

The view of the CPSU on the nationality question, in particular on national languages, is clearly set forth in the resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference "On Inter-Nationality Relations," in which the task is set to show greater concern in seeing to it that the national languages actively function in the various spheres of state, public and cultural life, that the citizens of other nationalities living in the republic have a command of it, above all children and young people. The resolution also notes the necessity of creating all the conditions for the

harmonious and natural development of bilingualism of the national and Russian languages, with regard to the special features of every region, not allowing formalism in so doing.

As is well known, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, proceeding from the propositions of the conference, on the basis of the the proposals of the Commission for Ideological Work, Culture, Science and Education at the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, and with regard to the wishes of the public, adopted the decree "On the Status of the Lithuanian Language." This document expresses the view of the Presidium: In order for the Lithuanian language to be able to function and develop naturally in the life of the state and society, it is necessary to give it the status of the state language of the Lithuanian SSR. At a discussion of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic which took place on 17 November of this year, it was planned to introduce the following draft provision of the LiSSR Constitution:

"The Lithuanian language is the state language of the Lithuanian SSR.

The Lithuanian SSR guarantees the use of the Lithuanian language in the activity of the state and public organs, in the sphere of public education, culture, science, and production, in other institutions, in enterprises and organizations, and the state is concerned about the all-round development of the Lithuanian language and the instruction in the Lithuanian language. Conditions are being created for the development also of other languages being used in the Lithuanian SSR, for the command of the Russian language and its use as a means of internationality intercourse among the peoples of the USSR."

We see that this draft of the constitutional provision, declaring the Lithuanian language to be the state language, at the same time calls for the guarantee of the free use of languages also of the other peoples living in the Lithuanian SSR, as well as the study and use of the Russian language. The Russian language remains an important means of intercourse of the peoples of our country, helping to utilize the enormous riches of science and culture.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, other state organs, and the editors of newspapers and journals receive quite a few letters with questions of how, in practice, the status of the state language will be realized and what will change in language practice. Will not the rights and the interests of the citizens of the other peoples living in the Lithuania be violated? It seems, this should not be feared.

The state language is the official language in the life of society. When the Lithuanian language will be given this status, it will be used in the ministries, state committees, departments, in enterprises, farms, institutions, public organizations and other social institutions. Along with

the Lithuanian language, the Russian language will also be used in the future as the means of the mutual intercourse of Soviet peoples. The laws and decrees of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, its Presidium, and the Council of Ministers, in the future, too, will be published in the Lithuanian and Russian languages. If necessary, the documents of ministries, departments and other organizations, too, will be filled out in the two languages.

Public information texts are now published in the Lithuanian and Russian languages: The names of enterprises, farms, and institutions, other names, various information inscriptions, regulations, instructions, and directions. This tradition, without a doubt, will also be preserved in the future.

Topical are the questions of the use of languages in the sphere of service. State organs, the courts, the procuracy, the organs of internal affairs, organizations of trade, consumer services, transportation, communication, health care, social security, finance, housing services, and others, which have constant contact with citizens of various nationalities, must organize their work in such a way so that the officials serving people have command of the two languages—Lithuanian and Russian. However, this should be achieved gradually, without the infringement of the labor law and other laws. What is especially necessary here is goodwill, tolerance of one another, and mutual agreement between the administration and the workers. You see, a man can, after a certain time, have command of the Lithuanian or Russian language, even if only as much as is necessary for his work.

The questions of the use of languages in collectives, where there are people of different nationalities, must be solved thoughtfully and carefully. At meetings, conferences and other measures, it is necessary to see to it that all understand what is being discussed. How to do this, every collective has the right to decide for itself (it goes without saying, with regard to the situation that has developed, not infringing on the rights of people, not insulting them). This must also be said about visual and sound information and graphic agitation. You see, in case of necessity, it can be prepared not only in the Lithuanian and Russian, but also, let us say, in the Polish or other language.

The use of languages not infringing on the interests of the interests of the citizens of the republic is connected with certain difficulties. It is possible that there will be instances of vagueness, misunderstandings, etc. There are proposals to adopt a special legal act regulating in detail and concretely the use of the state and other languages in the relations of institutions and organizations, as well as the language intercourse of the citizens with them. To this end, the LiSSR Council of Ministers has formed a commission, which must prepare a draft legislative act. This has already been reported in the press.

The introduction of the state language has as its goal the all-round improvement of the general language situation in the republic, i. e., the creation of favorable conditions for the functioning of the languages of all the peoples living in Lithuania and the improvement of their relations. Painstaking work connected with this will have to be done in the sphere of the study of languages. Great hopes are connected with the restructuring of the work of the schools. There must be a fundamental change in the instruction of the Lithuanian and other languages. It is necessary to significantly improve the conditions of the study of the Lithuanian language by adults, so that in evening and correspondence schools, in courses, and on an individual basis, all those who so desire could achieve the goal set—to have a command of the Lithuanian language. It is important to publish more Lithuanian language textbooks for collective and individual use. There is also a need for records, tape sets, and other educational supplies.

We must in every conceivable way support the proposals of the scholars aimed at the expansion of research work in the sphere of the Lithuanian language and the creation of a general system for the development of speech culture.

The moral maturity of society and the single individual is revealed in the attitude to the culture of another nation. You see, going abroad, even if only for a short time, we try to become acquainted with the life of this country and culture, to learn to express this or that idea in the language of this people. But for those who live permanently in the republic and want to become more deeply acquainted with the history, culture, traditions and customs of Lithuania, it is obviously worthwhile to learn the Lithuanian language.

The introduction of a state language does not to any extent infringe on the principles of socialism and democracy. The free development of every people, in particular of the language and national culture, is the basis for the free development of all the peoples of our country.

V. Klikunene,

Deputy chairman of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet
Presidium

State Language Not Oppressive

18000195 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
21 Oct 88 p 2

[Letter by S. Spurga, junior scientific associate of Vilnius University: "Language Is Not an Instrument of Oppression"]

[Text] I am hurrying to comment on the article in your paper "Let Us Talk Without Prejudice" (SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 6 Oct 1988). This article expresses the opinion of the editors with respect to the state language: "... in order to avoid misunderstandings to constitutionally anchor the national-Russian bilingualism that practically has developed within the limits of the USSR,

in particular in the conditions of our republic." In such a view there is no depth of understanding of the question of the state language. To justify raising the language to the status of the state language, the argument "to avoid misunderstandings ..." is not adequate. The appeal to the already developed situation without an analysis of the latter—also is not an argument, because the developed situation may be both good, progressive, and undesirable.

The state language is not an instrument of the oppression of people speaking in a different language. To think so is a mistake. Moreover, the problem of the state language, recognized as such within the country, does not have anything in common with the question of language that has objectively developed in inter-nationality relations. The goal of the adoption of the state language is the confirmation of the language which in the most important way has influenced the formation of the culture of this region. This is the confirmation of the language by precisely those people who are prepared to give their forces in the work to raise the culture and well-being of their land. It is the confirmation of the language and people speaking it who passionately love their territory and are the true patriots of their land. It goes without saying that only such a language, confirmed as the state language, will create favorable conditions for the flourishing of this land.

Without a doubt, it is not necessary for only one language to become the state language. But this must be decided not by some vague considerations, and not even by the numerical strength of the ethnic minority, but by the contribution to the culture of a given country, by the patriotism of the ethnic group. For the most part, Russians have not lived for a long time in Lithuania. As has been written in the newspapers, they do not form a community. Here is another thing that is interesting: Many Russians, native inhabitants of Lithuania, members of the intelligentsia who have made a contribution to the culture of the republic, agree that the Lithuanian language should become the state language.

Of the languages of the ethnic minorities in Lithuania, the Poles have the most weighty arguments for their language to become a state language. In Lithuania, Poles can study in secondary school in their native language, while in neighboring Belorussia, where there are more Poles, there are no Polish schools. I am convinced that in the future, too, the Lithuanians will take into consideration the interests of the Poles, who feel a community of fate with the Lithuanian people.

And as to the "practically developed situation," where the Lithuanian scientist is compelled to think without fail in the Russian language (at any rate during the writing of a dissertation), where in movie theaters only the Russian language is heard, where the young Lithuanian is compelled for almost 2 years to forget his native language in the army, where in Lithuania almost 100 percent of the Lithuanians know the Russian language,

but only 35 percent of the Russian know the Lithuanian language—let everyone judge this situation in accordance with his own conscience.

I will be grateful if only part of my judgments will appear in your newspaper. I dare propose that my arguments will help the Lithuanians and the Russians to understand each other. On the other hand, since I entered into polemics with your newspaper, I would like for you to oppose your arguments to mine, i. e., for you to substantiate your position in regard to the Russian language as the state language of Lithuania.

S. Spurga,

Junior scientific associate of Vilnius University.

P. S. Taking into consideration the request of the author of this letter, we propose as an argument in favor of our opinion the letter of still another inhabitant of the republic, while at the same time recalling once again that we are not raising the question of the recognition of the Russian language as the state language of the Lithuanian SSR.

Continuation of Bilingualism Advocated

18000195 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
21 Oct 88 p 2

[Letter by V. Tereshin, civil engineer: "It Will Guarantee the Interests of All"]

[Text] In statements on Republic Television, in newspaper and journal articles, one frequently encounters demands to speed up the declaration of the Lithuanian language as the state language of the republic.

Recently a draft law on the state status of the Lithuanian language was published. I would like to express my observations apropos of this bill.

I will note at once that I am fully in agreement with the proposal to declare the Lithuanian language to be the state language in the republic. But the question of the status of the Russian language as the language of internationality intercourse, in my view, needs to be treated differently. I will try to substantiate this.

During the postwar years, many workers, engineering-technical and creative workers from the union republics, came to Lithuania to restore and develop the national economy of the republic. The republic did not have its own specialists in the necessary quantity. At that time, the demand to at first study the Lithuanian language, and only then to admit them to work in the Lithuanian collectives would have looked simply absurd. All of the technical documentation during those years was prepared in the Russian language. It is completely understandable that the Russian language did become the language of international intercourse. For persons of Lithuanian nationality, the knowledge of the Russian language became necessary.

In the 1960's-1970's, Lithuania already had its own production base and design institutes, and trained specialists in the native language. The Lithuanian language gradually became the administrative language in many organizations. Knowledge of the Lithuanian language became necessary also for the representatives of the other nationalities. It became difficult to occupy even a small executive post without a knowledge of the local language.

It should be noted that during the 1940's-1950's the indigenous population of the republic did not advance such demands in regard to knowledge of its language as today. Without a doubt, both the Stalinist policy and the theory of international relations of that day are to blame here. During the years of stagnation, too, insufficient attention was given to the local language. But the leadership of the republic, too, was partially to blame for this. The teaching of the Lithuanian language in the schools and VUZ's was not at a high level, and no mandatory language study courses were organized for persons who came to Lithuania for permanent residence.

In the article "Lithuania—Our Homeland," published in the newspaper VECHEIRNIYE NOVOSTI, Academician E. Vilkas noted that the proposal concerning the declaration of the Lithuanian language as the state language arise in connection with the necessity of guaranteeing the use of the Lithuanian language in all state and public institutions and organizations, since frequently the Russian language relegates the Lithuanian language to second place. Professor B. Kuzmitskas in his answers to a group of readers of SOVETSKAYA LITVA, cited the following examples from the sphere of public life: Party work, the militia, railway communication, and a number of others.

As a matter of fact, there are still spheres in which the Russian language is dominant. But I would say that only in these spheres. And the process of the use of the Lithuanian language has expanded in these spheres. Only it went more slowly than one would wish. The declaration of the Lithuanian language as the state language, of course, liquidates these last outposts of the Russian language.

This problem must be posed much more broadly. In many organizations, where the majority of workers are Lithuanians, all the office work and the intercourse between the employees previously, too, were conducted in the Lithuanian language. The Russian language finds itself on the second plane. All of the republic ministries, for instance, can serve as an example. In those organizations, where the majority of the workers are Russians, Poles, or Jews (in all, there are 70 nationalities in the republic), the administrative language is Russian, and the Lithuanian language is in second place. These are, for example, the Vilnius enterprises of union subordination, more often one can hear the Russian language at the construction sites of the Vilnyusstroy [Vilnius Construction] Trust and the Vilnius Design and Construction

Association. Such a state of affairs corresponds to the principles of democratic character and does not infringe upon the interests of the Lithuanian language.

The declaration of the Lithuanian language as the state language will undoubtedly be the guarantor of its use in institutions and organizations. The assertion that in private and public life the use of other languages will not be limited is very doubtful. You see, already now the leadership of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring is saying that it cannot answer for the actions of all people of Lithuanian nationality who support this movement. Not all of them are such members of the intelligentsia as the leaders of "Sayudis." Conflicts may arise, the alienation of nationalities from one another is beginning.

For this reason, in order for a guarantor of the use of the Russian language as the language of inter-nationality intercourse to exist, I propose to introduce into the bill on the status of the Lithuanian language a direction for the regularity of the use of the Russian language as the language of interethnic intercourse.

The introduction of only one state language without such additions would be correct if Lithuania would be an independent republic, like, for example, the FRG or France. But Lithuania, you see, is a part of the USSR, and the bilingualism that has historically developed here demands that this be legalized in equal rights.

If such a decision will be adopted at the session of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet, then, in my view, it will be democratic and take away the present tension in the interethnic relations in the republic.

B. Tereshin,
Civil engineer

P. S. I ask that the honorarium for this article be transferred to the Fund for the Restoration of the Nizhniy Zamok in Vilnius.

Armenian Writers Union Delegate to Sumgait Trial Reports Observations

18300195a Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian
17 Nov 88 p 4

[Nadezhda Kremneva report, first published in YEREKOYAN YEREVAN of 11 November 1988: "Let Us Think, Let Us Act"]

[Text] Moscow-Yerevan—On 2 November our delegation, representing the Armenian Writers Union, arrived in Moscow to attend the court sessions hearing the Sumgait pogrom case.

The first impression was stunning. On the sidewalk in front of the central entrance to the USSR Supreme Court building we were greeted by a huge crowd of the Armenian community attempting to force its way through the tight cordon of the arm of the law. Our notebooks and journalist's credentials did not, as we found out here,

guarantee right of unimpeded entry to the temple of Themis. Our passage from one checkpoint to another was reminiscent of Brusilov's breakout the length of the front. The first to succeed in the onslaught was Silva Kaputikyan, behind her positions were gained with variable success by Maro Markaryan, Anait Sainyan, Artashes Pogosyan, Dzhemma Mazhinyan, assistant professor of the Legal Faculty of Yerevan State University, and your author.

The arrested persons were brought in. There was a challenge in their demeanor and conceit in their abrupt gestures. Compassion? No, they evoked no compassion in me. Only sufferers merit this involuntary sympathetic feeling.

Testimony was given. The witness Kerimov refused to testify. However, the law is the law, and the depositions had been taken down in due form and were already part of the multivolume record. However, we would not manage to see a single "live" witness. We were to find out why subsequently.

Squeezed into the seats and with hands clenched, we would all 3 days hear impassive descriptions: "he picked up a chopper and hit him on the back of the head," "they threw them onto the bonfire," "they broke down the door with axes" and so forth.

The most varied reasons were given for witnesses' non-appearance in court: child sick, feeling bad. I am possibly mistaken, but I have the distinct feeling that the witnesses' willpower was paralyzed by threats of the opponents of an honest investigation.

You could understand the witnesses. There has as yet been no political assessment of what happened in Sumgait, and the investigation is spinning its wheels in a study of individual unrest from hooligan motives. In this situation it is very difficult for the witnesses to keep up their civic courage and fidelity to the truth in defiance of the public opinion which has taken shape in the city.

And how can we wonder at this? The central press remains silent. Issues of the republic papers with Armen Oganessian's article "The Divide" and the interview with lawyer Ruben Saakyan "Has the Day of Reckoning Come?" are being literally snatched from our hands. Muscovites have been shaken by the scale of the fighting of local significance.

The writers have something to write about. An action committee composed of professional men of letters, journalists and historians has put together three volumes of testimony of Sumgait witnesses from the ranks of those who suffered personally. The work was carried out over a period of 9 months, each fact of the testimony was scrupulously specified, the time and place of each killing were established by the method of the cross-referencing of individual testimony and hypothetical motives for the crimes were compared.

I shall quote several extracts from these soul-chilling revelations.

Levon Akopyan, leader of a team of steeplejack-assemblers of the "Stalkonstruksiya" Azerbaijan Construction and Installation Administration (all the positions and places of work given of the witnesses were true prior to the pogrom—N.K.).

"On 27 February I saw a crowd of 50 persons at the Nariman Narimanov monument holding a meeting and a sea of people around them. Not 5,000, not 7,000, more—all standing about and listening. Banners had written in black on a red background: 'Death to Armenians!' I also heard the cry: 'A Muslim who does not spill the blood of Armenians is not a Muslim! Every Muslim must kill seven Armenians!'"

"In the morning, around 9 o'clock, this was on 1 March, I heard from a megaphone: 'Citizens of Armenian nationality! We ask you for your safety to leave your apartments! We will take you to a safe place!' This was being said by soldiers from an armored personnel carrier."

One does not need to be a leading light of legal science, commonsense is sufficient to doubt the current version of the massacre of persons of different nationalities.

Aleksandr Gukasyan, a physics teacher at Sumgait High School No 23, who was present on 1 March in the Sumgait Gorkom at a meeting of leaders of the city and the republic and officials of the CPSU Central Committee staff, as a representative of the victims.

"At the table in the big room were Demichev, Bagirov, the serviceman Krayev, Muslim-zade and other staff officials. I was asked to say what I knew. When I had finished my account, Demichev asked: 'Why, all the same, are people unwilling to return home?' I concluded that the municipal authorities had very likely not shown him our shattered apartments. He had most likely been taken around the areas which had not suffered. I said: you will excuse me, but I personally will be the first to leave, and all other Armenians who have escaped will be of the same opinion. I was at that this time supported by Krayev. He rose and addressed Demichev: 'Petr Nilo-vich, what Aleksandr Mikhaylovich said about the police is right. When I arrived in Sumgait, 850 police were concentrated in the city. Some 850! And not the least results! The entire police force had scattered! It was a miracle that I, a soldier, and my battalion in the service station area remained alive. A miracle! They were throwing rocks at us. The soldiers' shields were not strong enough, they broke.' Demichev then hung his head and said: 'Raising their hands against the army—this is too much! Call Seidov!' (chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers—N.K.)

"When Seidov entered, he ordered him to draw up a list of the police officers who had abandoned their posts and to have them prosecuted."

Until recently we have heard of no criminal proceedings against the "valiant custodians". No comment necessary.

Yuriy Musayelyan, electrician of the Streetcar-Trolleybus Administration of Sumgait.

"At the time of a meeting in the square in front of the gorkom on 27 February I saw a truck drive up; people began to unload from it crates of vodka and round black balls, about the size of a fist, of hashish and to distribute them to people free."

Madlena Agadzhanian, ID issuing officer.

"No, these were not hooligans.... I watched from the window for a whole hour—an endless crowd of howling animals was advancing...."

Zinaida Mudretsova, economist.

"They murdered us in our beds. In my opinion, the evidence alone is sufficient to brand these people with shame for all time."

Collating the facts of the testimony of the witnesses to the Sumgait carnage, the following conclusions may be drawn: several days prior to the pogrom, lists were drawn up in organized fashion (according to information of the housing offices) of the apartments in which Armenians lived; on 28-29 February the telephones in the Armenian apartments were cut off; cobble stones from the river, which had been brought into the city from many kilometers away, were scattered about the streets; the killers were armed with metal scrap from plant production; the crowd of thugs organizing the pogrom was followed by trucks, into which the corpses were thrown, and fire trucks washing from the water cannons the blood from the asphalt; repairs to the "bombed" apartments were under way in the morning of 29 February, as of 6 o'clock even; the gangsters were formed into 1,000-man squads, and the "thousands" were given orders by megaphone.

Knowing this, it is easy to believe the figure heard in court from Brize, who chaired the court examination: as a result of the unrest in Sumgait 275 soldiers sustained injuries.

The trial continued. A petition of representatives of the victims was read out: for the summoning to the court for questioning of new witnesses (three of those who had witnessed the bestial reprisal against the Melkumyan family and also against Artashes Arakelyan and Misha Ambartsumyan) and people who were involved in one way or another in the notorious events: the serviceman Krayev, Muslim-zade, former first secretary of the Sumgait Gorkom, Mamedov, chief of Housing Office No 12,

and the chief of the municipal telephone system and the leader of Sumgait's vocational-technical schools.

The prosecutor deemed necessary the summons to the court of the first three witnesses, the expediency of the appearance of the others is as yet in question.

Taking this decision of the prosecutor's as a basis, the representatives of the victims requested a postponement of the next session to prepare a second petition. The request was granted.

One further deposition was read out. And suddenly there came a shout from the courtroom: "A lie!" The nerves of one of the victims snapped.

The judge reprimanded her, and the reading resumed.

Alongside me two elderly Russian women were crying into their handkerchiefs. To the whispered question: "You are from Sumgait?" a negative shake of the head.

It was nearing the end of the third day of our stay in Moscow. The wet snow fell continuously, a cutting wind blew, the streets were icy, it was 15 below. It was only a tiny bit warmer in Sumgait at that damnable time when people were led through the streets naked, and half-mad mothers in slippers on bare feet, clutching to their chests their children wrapped in rags, ran up to the soldiers with a last hope of being saved. One could not forget even if one wished.

So the court was adjourned. The trial was to last until 10 November. Dispirited, no, crushed by the burden of grief, we were leaving the courtroom. Nerves on edge. And suddenly the father of the defendant Dzhaferov with a jesuitical giggle brushed against the sister in law of Sogomon Melkumyan, Karina, who had miraculously survived. She had escaped by crossing from her balcony to that of her neighbor along the vineyard fence with two small children and a 6-month-old baby at her breast. In a twinkling the infuriated woman shouted out in response: "Scum!" And hereupon something unimaginable happened. Dzhaferov's face became a wolf's mask, and, baring his fangs, he snarled: "You should all have been carved up, and there would have been neither you nor this trial!"

The crowd "ah'd" and began to move. The whole of it was a clot of pain, insulted honor, injured pride and dreadful impotence in the face of blind black hatred.

Neatly cropped boys in civilian clothes ushered us toward the staircase. "How could this happen!" "In the Supreme Court building!" the angry voices were heard.

I managed to blurt out in gabbled form the information to lawyer R. Rshtuni, who was emerging from a side door. A gallant major in civilian clothes politely took me by the elbow and took me to task almost affectionately:

"You must understand that these people...." And he twisted his finger at his temple.

Was there any point in saying that I and all of us were tired of understanding and remaining the while misunderstood and that it was not for him, a custodian of the law, to explain to me where those with something wrong with their heads, rather, with their consciences should be. I do not know if there was any point, but I told him everything that I was thinking in this connection. The major readily agreed with me.

It is a pity that the framework within which the trial was conducted was too narrow for a recreation of the whole picture of the Sumgait crime. There involuntarily comes to mind Tolstoy's parable about the broom which was untied and broken down twig by twig.

But there were other meetings and different speeches. There were numerous discussions in the editorial offices of the journals YUNOST and OGONEK and in the Central House of Writers with famous writers, sociologists, economists, lawyers—the flower of Moscow's intelligentsia. In recent days our delegation has been joined by Grant Matevosyan and Konstantin Ter-Ovanesov, commentator of the Armenian State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. They listened to us with bated breath, believing and disbelieving their own ears. It was our general opinion that even they, progressive, virtually omniscient people, were very scantily informed about what had happened during the offensive of the 15,000-strong horde of thugs against Askeran (about 50 people maimed, about 350 cars wrecked, and no criminal proceedings instituted), in Sumgait (precise figures of the losses are still being established), in Khodzhal (20 persons in hospital, 1 dead, more than 50 cars turned into a pile of scrap).... But the current moves along the circuit, and the tension hums in millions of volts of the human destiny. Where will the circuit be broken next? Let us think, let us act. The crime against the nation must not recur. But everyone must know about it. For precisely this reason.

None of the participants in the meetings remained indifferent to our grief. They took down our addresses and telephone numbers and offered us their addresses and asked to be kept informed. On Sunday we visited the Vaganka Cemetery, where Muscovites had gathered at the Armenian Church to exchange information. The latest issue of KOMMUNIST and an interview with Genrikh Poghosyan had been pinned to a tree. People were yearning for the truth, for justice. All honest hearts are turned toward Armenia.

...I recall the animated face of my Literary Institute teacher Lev Ozerov, poet and translator, who had just heard my lengthy muddled account. There were tears in his eyes. "Nadenka, convey to everyone in Armenia the fact that from this day I consider myself an Armenian...."

It would be splendid were this thought to permeate the consciousness of every Armenian and he were to ask himself: "What have I done to ensure that the truth triumph?"

Charges, Countercharges Surround AzSSR, ArSSR Claims of NKAO Development

AzSSR Officials Accuse NKAO Bodies of Obstruction

18300190 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
16 Nov 88 p 3

[Azerinform report under the "Briefing at Azerinform" rubric: "NKAO: Practical Assistance is Being Rendered"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee resolution on preparations for a CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "On Improving International Relations," has aroused great interest in the republic. In the light of the instructions in this important party document, a briefing was held at Azerinform on 15 November. Taking part were our own correspondents from the central publications, representatives of the republic mass information media, and leading officials of a number of ministries and departments who described work on carrying out the well-known CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution, "On Measures for Accelerating the Socio-Economic Development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR in the Years 1989-1995."

"In resolving the questions posed, our ministry is striving to take maximum consideration of the desires of the populace and the local party and Soviet organs," said republic Light Industry Minister S.M. Ibragimov. "For example, at the request of the party obkom and the oblistpolkom we have been surveying the possibilities of building a branch of Karshelkokombinat [Karabakh Silk Combine] in Khodzhalay for weaving and silk-reeling production. However, our repeated appeals to grant a plot of land to accommodate the production have, unfortunately, gone unanswered. It was only as a result a decision taken by the soviet of the working collective on a local farm that we were allocated 1.5 hectares of worthless land for construction."

"One of the most critical problems," the minister went on to note, "is finding jobs for persons of Azerbaijani nationality. At the oblast's light industry enterprises alone, several hundred people were left without work. In order to provide work places for them, sewing sections have been organized, offering extensive opportunity for working at home."

Gosarbitrazh [State Arbitration Administration] has examined the ministry's protest with regard to illegal deliveries of raw materials from Karshelkokombinat to the Armenian SSR, as a result of which the republic light

industry ministry incurred significant losses. A penalty has been imposed on Karshelkokombinat.

Republic Trade Minister Ya.I. Karakhanov spoke about the variants worked out for supplying the villages of Shushinskiy Rayon, and refugees as well, with foodstuffs and manufactured goods. They are supplied to the villages by motorized shops as well as by means of special opening of stores. The Agdamskiy Rayon Consumers' Cooperative has dispatched additional footwear in a winter assortment, fur and knitted-wear, and other articles amounting to a total of more than 300,000 rubles. For those building new houses in Khodzhalay, additional furniture, utensils and other household goods were sent. The towns and villages of NKAO have received an additional allocation of a large amount of foodstuffs as well as manufactured goods.

I.A. Masiyev, deputy chairman of the board of Azerittifak (republic consumers' cooperative), also described the work done in this direction. "In addition," said he, "possibilities have been explored for building new stores, bath-houses, pavilions, cafeterias and bakeries. To render assistance to refugees, 35 sets of standard houses have been dispatched, and an additional 45 sets of such houses for installation in the village of Khodzhalay. Of these, the erection of 52 houses is already completed."

"In the overall complex of the problems of NKAO now being solved in the republic, one of the most important is furnishing medical assistance to the populace," noted republic Health Minister T.A. Kasumov. The republic gosplan has allocated to the NKAO oblistpolkom more than two million rubles for construction of a hospital. It is planned to increase the number of beds at the Mardakert maternity home and at the Stepanakert tuberculosis dispensary, and also to build a maternity home of 30 beds with a gynecology clinic capable of handling 100 visits per shift in Askeranskiy Rayon. In order to furnish cadres of physicians to NKAO, Azerbaijan State Medical Institute imeni N. Narimanov has instituted non-competitive admittance for 33 positions. One can say that all Azerbaijani villages have a medical station or a first-aid station."

"Our association stands to put an additional 5,000 hectares of irrigated lands into production in Nagornyy Karabakh, carry out comprehensive restructuring of a significant area, and increase its water supply," said N.I. Gadzhiev, chief of the Azerbvodstroy SSO [Student Construction Detachment, Azerbaijan Hydro-engineering Construction Administration]. "Over 60 million rubles in capital investments have been allocated for these purposes. Preparations are under way for building a water reservoir on the River Badarachay, as well as comprehensive restructuring of the land on a number of farms. Attention is also being given to social construction. In the settlement of Khodzhalay, construction has commenced on a general-educational school seating 400, and a bath-house."

"In his presentation, Azerbaijan SSR Deputy Construction Minister N.G. Shakhmalyev spoke of large-scale plans for building socio-cultural-domestic projects planned for NKAO. He also described how the repair and restoration of burned-out and destroyed houses was going in Stepanakert and the settlement of Khodzhalı.

It was noted at the briefing that certain leading officials of NKAO, in articles in the periodical press, were trying to hush up or present in a false light the practical work being carried out by the republic organizations. In this connection it was indicated that we must steadfastly strive to overcome these shortcomings.

Armenian Disputes Veracity of AzSSR Claims
18000190 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
19 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by M. Markaryan: "The Correct Address for Practical Assistance"]

[Text] A fact is a dangerous thing; one plays with it at one's peril; and to do so is dishonorable.

But you see the material from Azerinform, "NKAO: Practical Assistance is Being Rendered," printed in the BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY issue of 16 November.

A briefing was held at the Azerbaijan State Information Agency; taking part were its own correspondents to the central newspapers. Its purpose was to acquaint the journalists with the status of implementation of the well-known CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution, "On Measures for Accelerating the Socio-Economic Development of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR for the years 1988-1995."

What is surprising first of all is, why this briefing was not organized in the oblast center itself, where their own correspondents could have gotten the facts first-hand, so to speak—if they wanted to know the truth, even if it is bitter truth. But of course in Baku it is easier—there, there are high-placed official persons, "who spake the truth..."

Azerbaijan SSR Light Industry Minister S. Ibragimov spoke thus: "...At the request of the party obkom and the oblispolkom we have been surveying the possibilities of building a branch of Karshelkokombinat [Karabakh Silk Combine] in Khodzhalı for weaving and silk-reeling production. However, our repeated appeals to grant a plot of land to accommodate the production had, unfortunately, gone unanswered. It was only as a result a decision taken by the soviet of the working collective on a local farm that we were allocated 1.5 hectares of worthless land for construction."

None of the minister's arguments are consistent with reality, to put it mildly. First of all the obkom and the oblispolkom have never "requested" that a branch be

built in Khodzhalı; in fact, it was protesting the illegal construction carried on there. The location was occupied illegally, and the construction was begun illegally. As far as the "worthless" land is concerned—it was a level, irrigated plot, of which there is so little in Karabakh.

Since when does the soviet of a working collective have land at its disposal? And why does the minister absolutize the soviet in one case, and in another ignores the competence of that soviet?

"According to the decision and mutual consent of the soviets of the working collectives of the Karabakh Silk Combine and our enterprise," informs deputy director of the Yerevan Silk Combine imeni V.I. Lenin, Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Andreasyan, "every year 100,000 meters of semi-finished products are to be supplied to us from NKAO. After we had received two lots in all, 70,000 meters, an angry Ibragimov telephoned us (evidently he became confused about the jurisdiction of his ministry), and the deliveries ceased."

Here I would like to quote the minister's complaint on the harm dealt to his branch: "Gosarbitrazh [State Arbitration Administration] has examined the ministry's protest with regard to illegal deliveries of raw materials from Karshelkokombinat to the Armenian SSR, as a result of which the republic light industry ministry incurred significant losses. A penalty has been imposed on Karshelkokombinat." Having closed the quotation, I shall now open a secret: The branch did not incur losses, but received a net income of nearly 30,000 rubles, about which the minister preferred to remain silent. For many years he has also preferred not to notice that the fruits are being squeezed out by the Sheki combine, since the final processing of the products of the Stepanakert combine is done there; and that means the receipts go there too.

From the statements at the briefing one is inclined to conclude that Karabakh is only Shushinskiy Rayon, Khodzhalı, and other villages with an Azerbaijani populace. The trade minister describes the supplying of villages in Shushinskiy Rayon as well as the refugees (Read: Azerbaijanis who have moved from Armenia), and additional supplies of furniture and household implements for the apartments being built in Khodzhalı. The minister is seconded by the deputy board chairman of Azerittifak (the republic consumers' cooperative) and confirms that a large number of prefabricated houses have been allocated to aid the refugees, and that 52 of them have already been built. But you see, about the Armenians who have been re-settled from Shushi—not a word.

As far as the implementing of the program for the socio-economic development of Nagorny Karabakh is concerned, according to the Azerinform Agency, it is being hindered by certain leading officials of the oblast, who are trying to "hush up or present in a false light the practical work being carried out by the republic organizations."

If the leading officials of the ministries and departments who took part in the briefing have such a great interest in the development of the NKAO, why are they erecting artificial barriers for assistance to the oblast from Armenia?

We are taking up this briefing not for the purpose of refuting the false ideas and opinions expressed at it, but because such distortions of facts further aggravate an already-tense situation.

And that is not the hardest thing to do.

What is harder, and more honest, is to apply our efforts toward alleviating the tensions which have sprung up, and restoring good-neighborly relations between two nations which have lived side by side for centuries.

Armenian Claims Refuted

18300190 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
26 Nov 88 p 2

[Azerinform report: "On Journalistic Ethics and Elementary Honesty"]

[Text] Several days ago at a regular briefing at the Azerbaijan State Information Agency [Azerinform] the leading officials of a number of republic ministries and departments told about what is being done to implement the well-known resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on the NKAO, to restore the houses and apartments destroyed during the events of September, and to find jobs for the populace. This article generated a response from a certain Ch. Markaryan, published in Yerevan in the Russian-language newspaper KOMMUNIST, which graciously allowed him space in its issue of 19 November. In his remarks under the highly-promising title, "The Correct Address for Practical Assistance," the author excoriated the Azerinform agency, alleging that it "not only juggles the facts but turns them head over heels."

Just what is KOMMUNIST trying to refute?

Perhaps the fact that in Susha all 62 of the Armenians' houses which had been destroyed have been rebuilt; that part of the city's Armenian population—400 people—has returned and is working!

Or the fact that according to the firm assurances of the oblast leadership, in Stepanakert 125 houses and about 200 apartments belonging to Azerbaijanis, which had been burned or damaged, are being restored!

Or perhaps the republic gosplan did not allocate more than 2,000,000 rubles to the NKAO oblast ispolkorm to build a hospital; perhaps in fact there are no plans to expand the number of beds in the Mardakert maternity home or at the Stepanakert tuberculosis clinic, or to set up medical stations, schools, bath-houses or cultural

centers in all the villages of the oblast, including the Azerbaijanian villages, where there had been far fewer?!

Or, that Gosarbitrazh did not punish the Karabakh Silk Combine for arbitrarily switching recipients of their product!

No, KOMMUNIST is not trying to refute the verified, accurate facts cited at Azerinform. And that is impossible. But oh, how they need this "gloss" of information in order to stir up the nations against one another!

And Markaryan criticizes Azerinform because the briefing was held, not in Stepanakert, but in Baku... However, permit us, esteemed editors of KOMMUNIST, to decide for ourselves, without your instructions, in which room to gather together in our own home.

For some reason, however, the author of the remarks in KOMMUNIST is not disturbed by the fate of the Stepanakert citizens of Azerbaijan nationality, who were left at the threshold of winter without a roof over their heads, and without a job; without the means to exist. And after all it is namely for them that republic organizations are building houses and branch enterprises in the settlement of Khodzhal. And it is namely this construction that Markaryan, without batting an eyelid, has declared "illegal."

Thus, it turns out that the decision of the republic organs does not extend to the NKAO. Incidentally, it was precisely against such absurd statements that PRAVDA spoke out in its article of 23 November entitled "Head over Heels:" "Let us, as Socrates counseled, reason together and bring the idea to its logical conclusion... If things are 'turned upside down,' then does it follow that the veto power invested in a rural Soviet is supreme?!"

Markaryan was especially disturbed by the statement at the briefing by the Azerbaijan minister of light industry, which required that its subordinate enterprise, the Karabakh Silk Combine, strictly adhere to the contract on deliveries. Who knows—perhaps the Yerevan journalist finds economic anarchy more to his liking than the normal rhythm of labor within the framework of the unified national-economic complex of Azerbaijan. Having no aversion to slander, he tries to din into the consciousness of the readers of the newspaper, that the fruits of the labor of the citizens of Stepanakert, "where the entire technological organism of the combine is worn-out, and the women work in incredibly difficult conditions," are "squeezed out by the combine in Sheki, since the final processing of the products of the Stepanakert enterprises is done right there, and that means the receipts go there too."

In fact, there's no connection whatsoever between the two things. Apparently, if something is produced in Armenia, from Azerbaijani plastic shall we say, then according to Markaryan's logic, the producers of the latter must come off the loser.

No, there is another kind of logic here. A logic aimed at creating tension, at inflaming and perpetuating international dissension.

The workers of our republic, as is well-known, have grounds for concern about the Azerbaijanis who live in Armenia. But there is not a single newspaper in Azerbaijan, nor any of the other mass information media, that is publishing tutelage and advice to the leadership and to the press in the neighboring republic, on how they should correct the situation in their own home.

One might ask, have the Armenians really solved all their ecological, social and economic problems; have they established order in their socio-political life; have they exposed all the corrupt clans and all the extremist circles; that the newspaper *KOMMUNIST*—displaying, alas, a lack of ethics and elementary honesty—believes that it is possible, as they say, to keep house in the neighbor's apartment?

Similar materials, even more openly directed toward continuing the tension and setting off the two nations against one another, were published in an editorial in the newspaper *SOVETSKIY KARABAKH* as well.

It goes without saying, there is no point in repeating the unsubstantiated facts cited above. Obviously, the firm, consistent policy of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee and the republic government on overcoming the damage inflicted on international relations and on restoring the good neighborly relations between the two nations is still encountering fierce resistance on the part of the enemies of perestroika and the openly nationalistic forces. But their spasmodic efforts are in vain.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium Reviews Public Discussion of Draft Laws

18300193a Yerevan KOMMUNIST 13 Nov 88 p 1

[Unattributed report entitled: "In the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR"]

[Text] A session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chaired by G. Voskanyan, chairman of the ArSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has been held.

The Presidium studied the progress of discussion in the republic of the draft USSR law on changes and amendments to the constitution (Basic Law) and the draft USSR law on the elections of people's deputies of the USSR. It was noted that discussion of the bills on changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and on the elections of people's deputies of the USSR was being organized in the workforce and at the citizens' place of residence. The course of the discussion is being covered extensively by the media.

In accordance with an ArSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree, the rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms, the ArSSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and republic newspaper and journal editorial offices are submitting to the ArSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium information on the content of the proposals and observations submitted by the workforce and social organizations. Proposals and observations are being received from enterprises, establishments organizations and individual citizens also.

The proposals and observations which have been received are being collated and submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the established procedure.

As of 11 November 1988 the ArSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium had received approximately 3,400 proposals, in which the working people, while approving the bills in the main, had expressed many observations in respect of individual propositions and clauses thereof. The vast majority of the proposals pertains to implementation of Lenin's national policy, improvement of the Soviet socialist federation, the further development of the legal status of the union and autonomous formations and a broadening of their constitutional rights and guarantees. Particular attention is paid to the need for a solution of the problems which have built up on the national question, the raising of inter-nation relations to a qualitatively new level and removal of the contradictions which arise in the course of practical realization of the nations' right to free self-determination.

The ArSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is continuing work on collation of the incoming proposals and observations.

The ArSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium also studied the decision adopted at the 20th Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Soviet Ninth Session of 4 November "The Draft Laws on Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR". The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Soviet requested that the ArSSR Supreme Soviet study and submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet proposals pertaining both to individual propositions and clauses of the said bills and to other clauses of the current USSR Constitution.

Having studied this request and considering the importance of the proposals received from the oblast soviet, the ArSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decreed support for the proposals of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Soviet pertaining to the draft USSR laws on changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and elections of people's deputies of the USSR and also to other propositions and clauses of the current USSR Constitution and their submittal to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

**ArSSR: 18 November Opera Square
Demonstration Participants Interviewed**
18300193b Yerevan KOMMUNIST 19 Nov 88 p 4

[Armenpress correspondents Dzsh. Balagezyan and L. Azroyan report: "Yerevan, Opera Square, 18 November"]

[Text] Opera Square in Yerevan was crowded. The air was hot with speeches and words. They cracked like a whip on the most painful problems of our reality. They spoke of the proceedings pertaining to the Sumgait atrocities case, demanded that, finally, a political evaluation be made of what occurred in this city and expressed people's legitimate and entirely understandable concern in connection with recent events in Nagornyy Karabakh and the obstacles being erected by the authorities of the Azerbaijan SSR in the way of realization of a wide-ranging program of the social, economic and cultural development of this region provided for by the party and government decree. There were numerous banners about this also. But not all. In some cases one sensed an overspill of emotions and the undue peremptoriness of some assertions.

More and more columns of demonstrators thronged toward the square. The municipal police kept a close watch on order and the State Automobile Inspection officers skillfully directed the flows of vehicles, ensuring the safety of the pedestrians, who under these conditions do not stick to the highway code.

"What has brought you here? What issues and problems are bothering you? How do you see the situation in our and neighboring republics?" We put these questions to people of various occupations and ages.

"I could not get to work, no transport. I am trying here, in Opera Square, to get information which, unfortunately, cannot be found in the central and republic press," Vigen Chaltykyan, senior research fellow of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Physical Problems Institute. "Many obscure issues have built up, and I want to learn from truthful sources what is actually happening in Nagornyy Karabakh. Is it true the Azerbaijan side is not allowing truck convoys with construction materials into Stepanakert, and if so, why. I want to know what steps are being taken by the republic authorities and the reaction of the union government, which has passed a good resolution on Nagornyy Karabakh, but it is being fulfilled inadequately. You will agree that under the conditions of people's present heightened interest in what is happening in the country and perestroyka, which is intended to fundamentally renew our life and, primarily, change our idea of our particular place in this difficult process, which is shaping new criteria of civic assertiveness, the press' opportune truthful words mean a great deal. Such words could strengthen the positions of perestroyka, but words left unsaid, on the other hand,

could weaken it. I am for the truth. Just tell it me so that I do not at times have to seek it among dubious sources even."

"You have rightly observed that transport is not working. Nor are the outfits of a number of industrial enterprises, research establishments, high schools and VUZes.

"What is your attitude toward strikes?"

"Negative. The strike is a means of economic and political pressure on the authorities. Under the conditions of our political system it hits, like a boomerang, at the interests of the broadest strata of the population."

"I am reading with interest all publications in the papers and journals of Armenia. They have become bolder and are calling things by their proper name," Vladimir Badalyan, works chief of the Arpa-Sevan Construction Administration, said. "And this is very good. One feels that the press has become more sincere with us. More, but not entirely. Tell us frankly why the authorities are still unwilling to acknowledge that the Sumgait tragedy of the Armenian population was decided on in advance and sanctioned by some people. I am a person who is far removed from the law, but even I can understand that it was a planned action which took place. And what is meant by a single trial of a handful of rogues, when they were the blind instrument of some people's malice. Excuse the analogy, but when the Italian Mafia was on trial in Italy, there were hundreds of people behind bars there who perhaps did not know one another previously but who were linked by a common criminal thread. Attempts are now being made to persuade us that local disorders occurred in Sumgait."

Let them be honest with us. Both the press and the leaders of the republic. And then the people will believe them and go along with them. Ashik and Ovanes Arutyunyan, workers of the same administration, were of the same opinion.

We went from one group to another, introduced ourselves and sought opinions on the events which were occurring. And people spoke about various things, about why people's faith in justice had been undermined, about the corruption, bureaucratism and callousness of certain "desk chiefs" and also about the inauspicious environmental situation in Yerevan, in whose atmosphere there are certain harmful and unhealthy substances tens of times in excess of the maximum permissible concentrations. People do not understand why the just demands of the Armenian oblast to be reunited with their people and republic have had to encounter so implacable a position on the part of another people.

Arsen Akhumyan, research fellow of the ArSSR Academy of Sciences Radio Physics and Electronics Institute, expressed himself with emotion:

"My comrade had to wait 20 years on the housing list," he said. "And this against the background of triumphal reports and verbal claims of social justice."

Uzbeks Blast Writer's View of Tajik-Uzbek Historical Relationships

Komsomol Scored for Publishing Article
18300114a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
18 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by R. Sabirov: "Let Us Stick to Our Business...About a Mistaken Publication"]

[Text] A close look at the past, including relations between nationalities, helps to avoid a repetition of errors in the future. Reminiscences about the history of our people provide enormous scope for feelings. From these positions, we seemingly might welcome the publication in the newspaper YESH LENINCHI of 30 and 31 August of the Mukhammad Ali essay "Know Thyself." All the more as the reason for this is quite valid: in a broadcast over Central Television there was the assertion that the architectural monuments of Samarkand and Bukhara supposedly have no bearing on the history and culture of the Uzbek people.

It is difficult to explain how such a thing could be said on television. The great architects of the East, including the Uzbek, created a number of unique monuments which even now amaze mankind, evoking awe and excitement. In a burst of indignation the author of the article exclaims: "If the monuments of these ancient cities have no bearing on the Uzbek people...then to whom are they related? The Arabs? The Mongols? The Russians?..."

Of course, one can understand the feeling of pride for one's nation and for justice. And even justify the vehemence.

But the author and the newspaper have used, unfortunately, the television broadcast as grounds for something completely different. Intentionally or not, they themselves in essence have seriously distorted certain aspects of the historical past of the Central Asian peoples, and in particular, the Tajiks and Uzbeks. Individual questions from the history of the fraternal Tajik people have been treated in a nonobjective and tendentious manner and this has evoked a negative response and just indignation on the part of many people.

In the relations of peoples from different nationalities, there should be no room for historical insensitivity, we would say further, a lack of delicacy toward other peoples and toward the most different aspects of their history. We must not praise ourselves while at the same time, wish it or not, belittling the other. We cannot love our own people while belittling the dignity of other peoples.

Konstantin Simonov is right a thousand times: "When we speak loudly in our literary works about our national feelings, about the strength of our love for our nation, we must remember here how important it is that our affection for our motherland never and in no way insults any other nation, any other motherland! This is the main thing that distinguishes a true internationalist from a seeming one. It is the main thing that eliminates any contradiction between the feeling of national pride and the feeling of internationalism." The great thinkers of the East such as al-Biruni, Alfarabius, Avicenna, Navoi and their followers Furkat, Donish, Abay, Makhtumkurli, Toktogul, S. Ayni, Khamza and scores of others by their creativity and by their very lives demonstrated a sincere respect for the history and culture of other peoples, putting in the forefront not national affiliation but rather common human criteria such as goodness, humanism, compassion in misfortune and friendship.

Much of this has been turned upside down in the article "Know Thyself." We would immediately point out that the author is not original in many of his judgments, in drawing widely on literary and scientific sources. Here he makes two fundamental errors: in the first place, he does not analyze them critically and, secondly, draws only on those which coincide with his personal opinion. Even contrary to the truth. And let us be completely frank, in a manner insulting to the Tajiks.

Mukhammad Ali is impressed by the idea of the violent resettlement of the Tajiks from Iran into Central Asia and the introduction of the Persian language here. It is clear what is the ulterior motive for this idea. But there is also a different viewpoint that the Tajiks relate to the very ancient population of Mawerannakhr and Khurasan. And the recognition of the Tajiks as a people of Iranian origin and the Tajik language from the Iranian branch of languages still does not mean that the Tajiks came from Iran. Moreover, it has been shown scientifically that the predecessors of the Tajiks, like the ancestors of the Uzbeks, Turkmen and other peoples were the indigenous inhabitants of Central Asia.

There are serious grounds to assert that the Farsi language came into Central Asia not from Iran but quite the contrary. This is the language of the Eastern Iranians, that is, predominantly the Tajiks. When it became a state language and developed as a literary tongue under the Samanidas in Bukhara (10th Century), the Arabic language still predominated in western and southwestern Iran.

This assertion is based on a careful study of the scientific literature. We were also interested in the opinions of scientists both Tajik and chiefly Uzbek. Here are some statements by Uzbek scholars and political leaders:

"As for the nationality of Rudaki, at present it is superfluous to raise this question. In actuality there does exist the opinion on the part of individual scholars that Rudaki came from Turkestan and obviously M. Ali has

relied on this. However, it has long been proven scientifically that Rudaki is an outstanding classic of Persian-Tajik literature.

"There is no need for the Uzbek people who have a rich history of cultural development to enrich their culture at the expense of the unjustified turkization of outstanding artists of the word (Rudaki, Bedil, Dehlevi) who are representatives of Perso-Tajik literature.

"The article by M. Ali 'Know Thyself' in a superficial and tendentious manner brings up certain aspects of the historical past of the Central Asian peoples but it factually ignores the reciprocal influence and mutual enrichment of the two peoples—Tajiks and Uzbeks.

"Thus, the author makes no mention that the Turs are one of the Iranian tribes and the distant ancestors of the Tajik people, and in an erroneous and verbose manner uses the word "Tur" as a synonym of "Turk" and "Turan" as "Turkestan," and from this concludes that in Turan, that is, in Turkestan, only Turks were living throughout the ages and the Tajiks were forcibly moved in from Iran. It is an indisputable fact that Farsi, the language of the Tajik people, was never brought in from without but, on the contrary, subsequently spread into Iran. This fact has been recognized by all major orientalists of the nation as well as by scholars in Iran itself.

"At one time in the historical literature there was the erroneous notion of the derivation of the word 'Tajik' from the name of the Arab tribe of 'Tay.' Mukhammad Ali, having this idea in mind, himself added the story astounding in its absurdity that representatives of this tribe after arriving in our land (that is, in Turkestan) instead of Arabic zealously spread the Farsi language even more than the Persians themselves. Thus, the author here even ignores the very existence of the Tajik people during those times."

"Mukhammad Ali, in quoting A. Navoi, translates the word 'Sart' as 'Persian,' although the Persians were never called 'Sarts.' In the article the Tajiks are called Persians, although they were never Persians and since antiquity have been called precisely as they are now."

"The thesis that the Tajiks are Farsi-speaking Turks is incorrect. The article's author takes mythological history as actual, and as a consequence of this he confuses Turan with Turkestan, the Turanians with the Turks.

"There are many questions which could have been employed to strengthen our friendship and not make an apple of contention from them such as the common territory on which the ancestors of the Uzbeks and Tajiks lived since antiquity, the common cultural phenomena for both nations and so forth."

"I feel that the article 'Know Thyself' in insulting the feelings of the Tajik people, will never aid the cause of indoctrinating the population, particularly the young, in

a spirit of internationalism and friendship of peoples. The appearance of such an article is particularly harmful today."

In our editorial file there are materials from Tajikistan which refute many ideas in the article by M. Ali. One of them "The Sense and Meaning of the Word 'Tajik' in Light of the Clashes of History" (or the self-oblivion of the author of "Know Thyself") merits the most serious attention. In a well-reasoned manner the material destroys many ideas of M. Ali leaving not a single stone standing. In particular, this concerns the problems of Persian-Tajik literature, the reciprocal influence of fraternal cultures and the administrative-command requirement of abandoning the name of the nation and merely because this name is not Turkic. It is difficult to say whether this is more a question of narrow egoistic boasting or scientific ignorance. Either way there is enough of both.

In line with the publishing of the article "Know Thyself" one involuntarily wonders what goal the author and editors were pursuing in publishing it. Did they foresee what a response this article would cause? Does it help to contribute to the friendship of the two fraternal peoples? Incidentally, an answer has already been provided to the last question.

Let me take up one other thing. An inaccurate, tendentious and primitive interpretation of various aspects of the past involving the national feelings of people has harmed the work of the party organizations of the two republics and has provided cause for the Philistines and politically immature elements to fan unhealthy attitudes.

M. Ali defined his article as an essay, a genre of philosophical, public affairs and other literature combining the author's viewpoint with an easy, often paradoxical exposition oriented to conversational speech. In actuality, the article has enough paradoxes.

The article by Mukhammad Ali begins with the words of Plato "Do your job and know yourself." To know yourself, the author of the article concludes, means to understand the essence of life itself, friends, society, people, social justice and freedom of thought and to understand and value one's culture and history. We would agree with Mukhammad Ali and possibly he knows more than others about the cherished thoughts of the ancient philosopher. But then the author of the article should not only value the idea of the statement but, in following it, himself analyze the problem carefully, profoundly, objectively and justly and only then bring it before the public.

But what resulted was not quite serious or, if you will forgive the pun, was quite unserious. What resulted was an unsuccessful flourish, a desire for sensationalism, superficiality and a claim of omniscience. And all because the author and the editors set to a task trying to lift a burden beyond them. And here we cannot help but

remember the fable by Krylov about who should bake pies and who should cobble shoes.

Mukhammad Ali is a well-known literary critic. He has penned many good works. For this reason he should be more careful for himself. His demands on himself should be high. One must not, to put it strictly, resolve historical problems merely on the basis of literary monuments, legends, myths and tales, even if they have been written by the great writers. This is clearly not sufficient for a scientific underpinning of the complex nationality relationships and the historical settlement of peoples. This should be clear to everyone. And the author of the article "Know Thyself" should realize this.

To a significant degree responsibility for the publication is also born by the editors of the newspaper YESH LENINCHI. For clearly the article offends the national feelings of a fraternal people and its pretentiousness is not backed up by sound arguments. Finally, the article, due to the multiplicity of disputed questions, is more suitable in a scholarly edition than it is in a mass youth newspaper. In providing space for the article by Mukhammad Ali and not having supplied their own commentaries or the publishing of a different viewpoint, the editors in essence have agreed with the author's position, thereby committing a major error.

I would like to voice a serious complaint against the leadership of the republic Komsomol. The article "Know Thyself" was published 6 weeks ago. Even the naked eye could see its nonobjective, antiscientific, politically immature position. These are questions for the committee which controls the newspaper YESH LENINCHI. The Komsomol leaders, it must be assumed, have control over the newspaper workers. It is no sin to set good standards for yourself. Nor is this the first time that such has happened in the youth publications.

However, it would be unjust not to agree with individual, in our view, important ideas in the article "Know Thyself," when, for example, the question is correctly raised of the importance of studying ethnic problems, anthropology, philosophy or when mention is made of studying the ethnogenesis of the Uzbek and other peoples inhabiting Central Asia. These very important and delicate problems, as scholars feel, have not been studied at present. Incidentally, this is a further argument in favor of there being no justification to publish the article "Know Thyself."

There is no arguing with the idea that it is essential to translate and publish in Uzbek the works by V.V. Bartold, V.L. Vyatkin, A.Yu. Yakubovskiy, A.A. Semenov and other scholars who have made a worthy contribution to studying the history of Central Asia. In all of this we see major tasks confronting the scholarly institutions of our republic, the publishing houses and journals.

But most importantly, there should be strong creative collaboration by the scientists of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan,

Kirghizia, Turkmenia, the nation's capital and Lenin-grad on the question of bringing out many of the "blank spots" in the history of the Central Asian republics. Then, we feel, there will be less tendentiousness and incorrect views on the origin of the peoples, the languages and many other problems. Then there will be a smaller possibility of the appearance of such articles as "Know Thyself." Why doesn't the republic Academy of Sciences show initiative on this question? Certainly the historians, ethnographers and linguists in the nation specialized in Central Asian problems without any doubt would take a most active part in such a noble undertaking.

The Uzbeks, Tajiks and all the fraternal peoples of our land at present are closely concerned with restructuring and are moving together toward new accomplishments for the sake of their motherland of which we are rightly proud. The nationwide pride of the Soviet man is a high and noble feeling embodying both love for the land of his ancestors, respect for the dignity of other peoples and a dedication to our ideals of internationalism.

Views Detrimental to Tajik-Uzbek Relations

18300114 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
27 Oct 88 p 4

[Article by A. Agzamkhodzhayev, corresponding member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, doctor of legal sciences and professor: "Not To Know Thy Neighbor Is Not To Know Thyself"]

[Text] I was amazed and shaken by the "essay" by the writer Mukhammad Ali published in the newspaper YESH LENINCHI at the end of August. The same feelings were evoked by a portion of a broadcast by Central Television in which reference was made to the author.

What is the argument all about? From whence did the Tajiks and Uzbeks originate in antiquity and how did they settle?

Unconditionally, a modern cultivated man must have knowledge of history and an interest in it. But I propose that a qualified resolution to such questions is best left in the competence of specialists such as ethnographers and other scholars. We have references to turn to. As an example, I might give such recognized authorities as V.V. Bartold, M.S. Andreyev, A.Yu. Yakubovskiy and V.L. Vyatkin. It would be possible to mention a number of others.

But for the nonspecialists in order to doubt the soundness of the arguments about the "newcomer" origin of the Tajiks from Iran have merely to look at the "Great Soviet Encyclopedia." "The penetration of Iranian tribes into the territory of modern Iran," it states there, "has been tentatively put to the second millennium B.C. (in the opinion of individual scholars, from Central Asia and in the opinion of others, from the Transcaucasus)."

Yes, the question actually is not one of who moved where and from whence, but rather why this dispute has now gotten started. Not in a scholarly edition, let us stress, but in a republic youth newspaper and not by historians but by a writer.

Those who wish to participate in this dispute must not forget the rudiments, the simple truths which have been inculcated in us since childhood and learned at the school desk. It may seem silly to recall but we must:

"In the world there is no other such multinational state as ours. This state was built together by Russians, Uzbeks, Tajiks, the representatives of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR. And one of our main common treasures, the most precious accomplishment of ours is internationalism in state, public and private life.

To espouse racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or disdain for persons of a different nationality is punishable under the law.

Persons of the most diverse nationalities consider Tajikistan, Uzbekistan or Chuvashia their home republic. For example, in our Uzbekistan there are many villages with a mixed Uzbek-Tajik population. Why is it important for them to know whose ancestors lived on this territory since the second millennium before Christ and whose came 10-100 years sooner or later?

The pseudoscientific statements of Mukhammad Ali disconcerted not only me but also many colleagues with whom I spoke about this. It is particularly alarming, let me stress again, that the newspaper YESH LENINCHI, which is oriented to the youth, gave space to Mukhammad Ali.

Let us endeavor to figure out what might be the results of the speculations by the "essay's" author. R. Sabirov, who quite effectively replied to him on the pages of PRAVDA VOSTOKA, drew attention primarily to the moral-ethical and partially the ideological aspects. But there is also a political-legal question.

I do not feel that Mukhammad Ali was consciously preaching national prejudice any more than I feel that his arguments are capable of confusing anyone.

Let us turn to the facts. Soviet Tajikistan, being up to 1929 an autonomous republic within the Uzbek SSR, made a worthy contribution to the development of the economic and spiritual potential of our republic. Having become a Union republic, Tajikistan has achieved tangible results in the development of the economy and the sociocultural sphere. Naturally, its successes have long ceased to be comparable with the indicators of 1913. This applies not only to any of the republics but also to our nation as a whole. We also have, to put it sharply, the same shortcomings and failures. We are now working together to improve the economy and turn the entire economic system to satisfying urgent needs.

We have completely clear guidelines for this as set out by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The Resolution "On Relations Between Nationalities" provides directly "to ensure such forms of collaboration whereby each republic be interested in improving the end results of its economic activity as a basis for its own prosperity and for adding to the common wealth and might of the Soviet state."

As is known, the main contribution of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to the nation's economy is cotton. Collaboration in the area of cotton raising is of prime significance. Unfortunately, the efforts of the cotton-growing republics of Central Asia and Azerbaijan as yet are largely isolated. There must be new approaches to organizing the traditional interrepublic socialist competition. There is no sense trying to hide that until recently this was not a businesslike question but rather one of sham campaigning and involved loud words about friendship and fraternity and abundant banquets on the occasion of reciprocal visits of the competitors.

Close attention must be given to the problems of land reclamation and water utilization in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and the ways to resolving them must be sought out together.

We feel that the interests of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan must be more fully considered in the activities of the Central Asian organizations. For example, Glavredazirovkhostroy [Main Central Asian Administration for Agricultural Construction] under the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. Possibly we should turn to the idea of Central Asian bodies not only in the national economic area. Such regional bodies which existed at one time could be useful at present. Naturally, they should be free of the drawbacks of their previous analogues.

The sphere of production relations is, of course, not the only one for our republics. For Uzbekistan and Tajikistan there are years-long traditional cultural and scientific-technical ties. This is described in detail in the material "Brother, You Are Strong As a Brother" published by PRAVDA VOSTOKA on 26 June. In referring the readers to this material, I would like to take up certain other unsolved questions. I feel that for now the research by our scholars is not sufficiently coordinated. First of all, on general problems of regional importance. There have not been tangible results from the traditional meetings held by the presidents of the Central Asian republic academies of sciences.

The public of our republics places great hopes on the treaty for scientific collaboration concluded between the Uzbek and Tajik Academies of Sciences. This treaty provides for joint research in the spheres of natural and social sciences. For strengthening relations between nationalities a great deal can come from research on the problems of the development and improvement of the

Central Asian economies, the rationalizing of the economic ties of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, as well as historical-political development in the region.

It seems that we, the lawyers, are capable of more than we have, as they say, at present. Theoretically it is considered that the plans of our research are coordinated on the Moscow level. However, here in Central Asia we for now do little to coordinate our work, although there is experience in collaboration which could be drawn on in developing our ties. Thus, leading scholars from not only Uzbekistan, but also Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, are present on a specialized council for the defense of dissertations for the academic degree of doctor of legal sciences under the Tashkent State University imeni V.I. Lenin. This, incidentally, is the only such council in the Central Asian region.

I would particularly like to say a word about one of the members of the specialized council, the academician of the Tajik Academy of Sciences, Sali Ashurovich Radzhabov, who has made, without exaggeration, an outstanding contribution to training legal personnel. Having worked many years in Uzbekistan, Sali Ashurovich is working just as fruitfully now in fraternal Tajikistan. Many of his students, Uzbeks, Tajiks and representatives of other nationalities, recall with gratitude their teacher. I am also proud that I was a student of Radzhabov.

For Sali Ashurovich the Tajik language, as well as Uzbek and Russian, were mother tongues.

The mastery of three languages in Tajikistan is not a rarity. In this regard, I would like to point out what a profoundly international idea can be found in Article 105 of the Tajik Constitution. It proclaims that the laws of Tajikistan, the decrees and other enactments of the republic Supreme Soviet are to be published in Tajik, Russian and Uzbek. This constitutional provision is based on the fact that Uzbeks according to the 1979 Census make up almost 23 percent of the Tajikistan population.

On the other hand, a significant number of Tajiks live in Uzbekistan. Tajiks make up almost 3.9 percent of the republic population and in Namangan and Surkhan Darya Oblasts their share in the total population is, respectively, 8.7 and 12.6 percent.

The Tajik portion of the population is widely represented in the state and republic bodies and in its party organization. Over 4,000 deputies to the local soviets, as well as 12 deputies in the republic and national supreme soviets are Tajik by nationality. They, of course, are actively involved in studying the national and cultural needs of the Tajik portion of the population and adopting decisions aimed at satisfying these.

For example, in areas where there is a high density of Tajik residents, 4,184 classrooms have been opened where studies are conducted in Tajik. The instructors for

the Tajik-language schools are trained at Samarkand University and the pedagogical institute and in addition by arrangement are recruited at the Dushanbe and Leninabad Pedagogical Institutes.

The same concern for the Uzbek portion of the population is shown in Tajikistan, where there are 952 schools with instruction in Uzbek, as well as faculties and departments at the VUZes of Dushanbe, Leninabad and Kurgan-Tyube.

At the beginning of October of this year, the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee examined the question of duplicating individual pages in other languages on certain rayon and city republic newspapers. Proposals have also been adopted from the Bukhara, Kahska Darya, Namangan, Samarkand, Surkhan Darya and Fergana Obkoms of the Uzbekistan Communist Party to publish one page in Tajik in the eight rayon newspapers. It has been recommended that the party obkoms also examine the questions of organizing the transmitting of local radio broadcasting in Tajik.

Each day there are radio broadcasts in Tajik on the republic radio. It is also the practice of Tajik and Uzbek television to exchange TV programs. Programs of Tajik Television are relayed three or four times a week to Tashkent and to Tashkent Oblast. As of the current year, the same relaying has commenced for Samarkand and the rayons of Bukhara Oblast which are adjacent to it.

But, I think, the capabilities of television are still not sufficiently used. Why, for example, are there no periodic telebridges between Tashkent and Dushanbe, Samarkand and Leninabad and so forth? A live, frank conversation about common problems would be of interest to both the TV viewers in our republic and Tajikistan.

The questions of altering the frontiers between the fraternal republics are also being resolved considering reciprocal interests and on truly internationalist principles.

Thus, in 1939, in line with building the Great Fergana Canal, Uzbekistan turned to the Tajik and Kirghiz republic organizations with a request for them to allocate right-of-ways for construction. The fraternal republics concurred with the request.

At the end of 1944, when the Farkhad GES was being built, a portion of the lands in Leninabad Oblast of Tajikistan was to be inundated. These lands as well as adjacent territory were transferred to part of Uzbekistan. At the same time, Uzbekistan turned over a portion of the lands in Bekabadskiy Rayon of Tashkent Oblast for the Tajik kolkhozes in line with the flooding of a portion of the territory of Tajikistan.

In 1959, Tajikistan turned over to Uzbekistan a portion of the lands of the Golodnaya [Hunger] Steppe with an

area of 5.5 thousand hectares. The virgin lands were developed by combined efforts.

In 1972, the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy was given a plot of land for expanding the Uzbek Metallurgical Plant imeni V.I. Lenin in Bekabad. The plot was provided from lands of the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin in Nauskiy Rayon and territory from Matchinskiy Rayon of Tajikistan. Correspondingly, Uzbekistan turned over lands belonging previously to the Sovkhoz Leningrad in Bekabadskiy Rayon. These were received by the Kolkhoz imeni Karl Marx in Matchinskiy Rayon. The partial change in the frontiers between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan were made without any differences of opinion.

Let me emphasize that such a reasonable and just resolution of territorial questions between the republics is possible only under the conditions of a socialist system. The projects built on the transferred lands were of importance not only for one republic. The food products, the hydropower resources and the water management facilities are used in common.

New kolkhozes and sovkhozes as well as sociocultural facilities are organized on the developed lands, new towns appear and the local personnel of skilled workers grows.

Of important significance for strengthening the friendship of peoples is the establishing of a permanent commission under the Uzbek Supreme Soviet on questions of relations between nationalities and international indoctrination. An analogous commission has also been formed in Tajikistan. Thought must be given to developing other forms of cooperation between nationalities. It would be a good thing, for example, to have permanent representatives of the councils of ministers of some Union republics to the governments of others.

The ways for further developing and strengthening collaboration, economic and cultural ties and international indoctrination of the workers in the two neighboring republics were pointed out at a meeting held in Dushanbe in June of this year of a delegation from our republic headed by the First Secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, R.N. Nishanov, with the leaders of the party and soviet organizations of Tajikistan, with representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia and workers of the mass information media. It is important in a consistent and purposeful manner to carry out what has been planned. There are both the necessary resources as well as the goodwill on the part of both sides for this.

These are the facts. I feel that they will persuade the readers that the focus and tone of the "essay" by Mukhammad Ali conform poorly to the reality of the existing relations between the neighboring peoples. "Any claims of national exclusiveness are inadmissible and insulting, including for the people on whose behalf they have been made"—this is the principled position of the party as formulated at the 19th Party Conference. It is wise to recall

the apt words of the remarkable Soviet poet Mirzo Tur-sunzade: "Uzbeks and Tajiks are two strings on the same guitar." Only when the strings are in tune does music occur.

Newspaper Editors Censured

18300114P Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
21 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary A. Nasyrov: "Follow-Up to a PRAVDA VOSTOKA article: 'Let Us Stick to Our Business.'"]

[Text] At its meeting, the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee Buro reviewed the matter of a series of superficial publications in the republic's youth newspapers and magazines.

It was noted that the newspapers YESH LENINCHI and KOMSOMOLETS UZBEKISTANA recently published articles in which the authors, aiming at sensationalism and describing often invented problems, lead their young readers away from reality and establish a precedent for the formation of ideologically immature views and the exacerbation of relations among nationalities. These articles include the following: an essay entitled "Know Thyself," by Mukhammad Ali, in YESH LENINCHI, 30 and 31 August 1988 (this essay was subjected to sharp criticism in the article entitled "Let Us Stick to Our Business," published in PRAVDA VOSTOKA and SOVET OZBEKISTANI on 18 October 1988); an article entitled "You're Known by the Company You Keep," by A. Semerkin, in KOMSOMOLETS UZBEKISTANA, 3 September 1988; and an 8 January 1988 interview with the Bishop of Lvov [note: source not given], in which facts surrounding the existence of readers' letters are juggled. The letter of a nonexistent A. Sattiyev was handled similarly in YESH LENINCHI on 24 September 1988.

This type of publication testifies to a weakening of the editors' role in raising the ideological, political and professional level of the publications' staffs, and to an unprincipled approach to the selection of authors. The republic's experts and competent specialists are rarely consulted in the preparation of articles.

There is a lack of judgment and responsibility, as well as a sense of moderation and tact, in the choice of subject material and in the exposition of complex problems, particularly those issues dealing with the development of relations among nationalities. The attention of the newspapers' and magazines' editors has been drawn to these inadequacies on more than one occasion.

The Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee Buro has informed the editors of the papers YESH LENINCHI (Comrade Zh. Razzakov) and KOMSOMOLETS UZBEKISTANA (Comrade A. Tyurikov) of the serious shortcomings permitted in the preparation of a number of articles. The editors of the youth newspapers have been instructed to be more exacting in their work and to

require from every member of the staff higher quality and more political direction in the articles they write.

The Central Committee Buro noted that the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee Department of Propaganda and Agitation and Central Committee Secretary A. Kadyrov bear responsibility for the demonstrated shortcomings. They have been cited for inadequate management of the newspaper and magazine editorial boards, and it is being required that they actively assist the editors in guiding the ideological and political direction of the publications.

The editors of the youth newspapers and magazines are instructed to exercise particular responsibility in preparing articles on the patriotic and internationalist education of youth, and to adopt class and internationalist positions in evaluating the issues of nationalities in society. Ambiguity and one-sided approaches to problems should not be tolerated in publications.

It is noted in the resolution that every article in the youth press should assist young people in correctly understanding the changes taking place today in the republic, and should guide young men and women to active participation in perestroika, to the spiritual and economic renewal of society and the promotion of friendship among the peoples of our country.

Official Summarizes Alma-Ata Environmental Seminar

18300208a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 18 Nov 88 p 1

[Report by G. Utegenov on interview with USSR Goskompriroda Deputy Chairman Ye.V. Minayev: "Without Harm to Nature."]

[Text] Participants in the All-Union seminar-conference organized by the USSR and KaSSR State Committees for Nature Preservation [Goskompriroda] met in Alma-Ata. Among the participants were leading officials from the Ecological Expert Analysis Services of the national and republic nature preservation committees, and from ministries and departments; and representatives of planning and scientific-research institutes of Moscow, Leningrad, Alma-Ata and other cities in the country.

KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA part-time correspondent S. Utegenov asked Ye.V. Minayev, deputy chairman, USSR State Committee on Nature Preservation and chief of the Main Administration for Ecological Expert Analysis, to summarize the results of the three-day seminar which ended the day before.

"It must be noted that this seminar is the first in the history of the entire system of the country's new state nature-preservation authority. And we had all gathered in the capital of Kazakhstan in order to work out the methodological bases for organizing and conducting ecological expert analysis of the plans for developing and distributing

production forces, construction projects, reconstruction of national-economic projects, new equipment and new technology. The place for holding the seminar was not chosen by accident: there are many sore spots in the ecology of Kazakhstan. A major project which is now under examination by the republic goskompriroda and the national committee is the Tengiz Oil Field, which is of unique significance, and at the very same time has its own peculiar features. This requires a very careful approach to analysis of the effects on the environment of the work being carried out here. The Tengiz region has been severely damaged in the ecological plane; and it lies close to one of the most unique fisheries in the world—the Caspian. We are also alarmed by the situation with the accumulated drainage in the Sorbulak water reservoir. All measures must be taken here to preclude possible consequences, such as the catastrophic overflow which occurred last winter at the Zhankum holding pond near Alma-Ata. At the present time USSR Goskompriroda is conducting an ecological expert analysis at the Pavlodar Vitamin-Protein Concentrate Plant; a conclusion will soon be ready on the expedience of its construction, given the complex ecological situation in the region in question.

"The tasks of the seminar have on the whole been completed. We managed to collectively exchange opinions and work out uniform approaches to ecological expert analysis. It was deemed necessary to train specialists, to improve the business of propagating ecological knowledge, and to increase the ecological culture of the entire population of the country.

"What are our concerns? The Law on Enterprises has been in effect for almost a year; this law stipulates introducing the practice of charging fees for the use of natural resources and for waste-discharge into the natural environment. However, to this day there are no economic criteria nor standards for these fees. At the very same time, the State Committee on Prices has introduced new prices for a number of products of the national economy, and specifically for electrical power—unfortunately, without taking into account the effects on the environment of the extraction, processing, and transport of energy resources. In other words, electric power officials, as before, have no interest in observing ecological requirements. Urgent measures are needed to work out the economic normatives for fees for the use of natural resources; these must be introduced in the new five-year-plan for all enterprises operating on a cost-accounting and self-financing basis."

Chief on Goals of New Azov-Black Sea Environmental Procuracy

18300208b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Dec 88 p 2

[Interview by N. Baklanov with Bronislav Nikolaevich Yevstafyev, Azov-Black Sea Environmental Procurator: "A Procurator for Nature Preservation"]

[Text] The Azov-Black Sea Nature Preservation Procuracy has been established in Simferopol in accordance

with a decision of the collegium of the USSR Procuracy and an order of the USSR General Procuracy.

Bronislav Nikolaevich Yevstafyev, 51, has been selected as chief. Before assignment to his new post, he had worked as the Dnepr Transport Procurator.

[Baklanov] Bronislav Nikolaevich, what made it necessary to create a new inter-republic procuracy, whose zone of control includes the territory of three republics—the Ukraine, RSFSR and Georgia?

[Yevstafyev] "In recent years the ecological situation has grown considerably worse in many regions of the country—and especially in the Azov-Black Sea region. This has caused a mass of appeals from the people to the party and soviet organs in the localities and to various central authorities. The adopting of the well-known resolution by the party and government devoted to fundamental restructuring of environmental matters in the country is, in my view, evidence of the realization of the encroaching danger and the necessity to take urgent measures to clean up the environment.

"As far as its inter-republic status is concerned, alas, the ecological threat knows no boundaries, and pollution has embraced in approximately equal measure the entire coastal region of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea. Therefore to solve this problem it is necessary to have a unified controlling and coordinating organ."

[Baklanov] What are the top-priority measures which in your view must be taken in order to correct the situation?

[Yevstafyev] "To place under special supervision the most unfavorable projects—for example, the chemical plant in Saki, the Titan Association in the Crimea, the aniline-dye plant in Sivashskoye, the iron-ore combine in Kerch—and strive to put the purification installations there into proper order. Unfortunately, matters are poor

not only at these enterprises, but also at many others which are polluting the air and water with their discharges and tailings in the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea."

[Baklanov] By all accounts, the officials of the Azov-Black Sea Procuracy will not only have to protect the environment from pollution, they will also have to contend with poachers.

[Yevstafyev] "This task of course also falls under our responsibility, and a great deal of attention will be devoted to it. I must with all frankness state that in certain places representatives of the local authorities have become inured to poaching, as a result of which certain species of sturgeon, flounders and grey mullet are being rapaciously destroyed, and unauthorized hunting of animals is occurring on game preserves..."

[Baklanov] It is obvious that the struggle with poachers will not be an easy one. Do you have the necessary staff of people and the appropriate technical equipment to do this?

[Yevstafyev] "I believe that all the problems can be resolved with the support of the local party and soviet organs. With respect to the comrades with whom we are to work: I have been given the right to recruit the most experienced, competent workers from various regions of the country."

According to information from the USSR Procuracy, the first nature-preservation procuracy was formed in Astrakhan in May 1985, and a specialized Internal Affairs administration has been established. Their task is to take up the surveillance of the observation of the existing legislation, to take measures for preservation and protection of the natural resources of the Caspian Sea and the lower reaches of the Volga and Ural Rivers. The next nature-preservation procuracy to be established was in the Lake Baykal region. Work will be continuing in this direction.

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